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U.S. POLICY LACKS MODERATION, WILL TO NEGOTIATE

DW110609 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 9 Apr 84

[Guenter Leuschner weekly international review]

[Text] Strange things are happening in the West. Despite the Falklands, the British Government publicly disapproves of the mining of Nicaraguan ports by the U.S. intelligence service CIA. The French foreign minister states his country's readiness to clear the mines laid by the United States, something which naturally has triggered harsh protest from the Washington State Department. Weinberger's statements at the recent NATO Nuclear Planning Group meeting on the U.S. star wars plans have led to critical comment from even high NATO officials who foresee a split in the Western alliance; the EC Commission's deputy chairman has made statements to journalists on great differences between the West European countries and the United States regarding their approach to a number of important international problems and has complained that Washington generally does not consult its partners and ignores the Europeans' opinions. Even if it is just a transient occurrence, we should also quote Mr Spencer, president of Honeywell Incorporated, whose company earned $1 billion from arms orders last year and who, as a concerned U.S. citizen, as he said to NEWSWEEK, urgently asks his government to take initiatives to curb the arms race so the number of hotbeds of tension does not increase even more.

These are just indications, of course, but they do reflect a lot. For instance, when in his 16 January speech the U.S. President announced his readiness for dialogue, some of Washington's partners grasped at this statement. Suppressing their concerns about the dangers of U.S. policy, they hoped for moderation by Washington. However, the straw disappeared. Considering everything that has happened in recent weeks, no one in the West can believe any longer in a moderation of U.S. foreign policy. Whoever may still have had any illusions, had to abandon them following the President's foreign policy speech last Friday.

It was an election speech in the style of 1980 -- a strong America; the United States as the leading power, naturally also toward its allies; the policy of strength; and deterrence. This is the same vocabularly and the same program as in 1980 and naturally it will also have the same consequences.

Therefore, no one can be surprised that in his interview with PRAVDA published today Konstantin Chernenko said in answer to a question about any signs of positive changes in U.S. policy that there were no such signs and that the situation in the world was regrettably not changing. Comrade Chernenko proved this by providing examples. He examined Washington's so-called readiness to negotiate and could only conclude that it does not exist.

Let us take the example of the militarization of space which has even created a lot of concern within NATO. For many years, the Soviet Union has been demanding a treaty banning the deployment of all weapons in outer space. It has repeatedly warned about the horrible consequences of extending the arms race to outer space. However, a week ago Reagan officially rejected negotiations on such a treaty. His war minister, Weinberger, even said on U.S. television yesterday that he preferred an antimissile system to an appropriate arms reduction agreement with the Soviet Union. Thus, there will be no negotiations.

Let us also consider the nuclear test ban. After such a ban was imposed, it would be easily verifiable and would soon lead automatically to a reduction of the arms race because nobody could test and then produce new nuclear weapons. Comrade Chernenko pointed to the two Soviet-U.S. treaties signed almost 10 years ago on the limitation of underground nuclear explosions -- treaties, which the United States has not yet ratified.

The Reagan administration rejects negotiations on banning all nuclear tests which the Soviet Union has been demanding for many years. According to a report in the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE last week, a new testing area for larger undergound nuclear tests is being prepared in Nevada. This is obviously for tests that have been banned by those agreements with the Soviet Union that Comrade Chernenko was talking about.

Let us also take the chemical mass destruction weapons that were also discussed in the PRAVDA interview. Proposals by the Soviet Union to ban such weapons have been on the table for many years, and during this time the United States has been preventing the conclusion of such an agreement. However, in recent months U.S. politicians have repeatedly announced proposals in this area, but so far there have been promises. Today hardly anyone believes these proposals are serious because, for example, President Reagan has asked Congress to appropriate billions of dollars to modernize U.S. chemcial weapons production. Factories to produce the new so-called binary weapons -- lethal nerve toxins -- have already been built. Why ask for billions for new weapons if chemcial weapons are allegedly to be banned?

Asked about the reasons for such a contradiction, the President lied by saying that regarding these weapons the United States was naked and exposed, so to speak. However, it is a fact that the U.S. Army has stockpiled about 150,000 tons of nerve toxins, of which some 10,000 tons are stored in the FRG. One liter of such toxins is enough to kill 65,000 people. The 10,000 tons stored in the Federal Republic are sufficient to exterminate all the people in Europe.

Therefore, we have the answer to the question of how seriously we should take Washington's announcement of a possible chemical weapons ban.

Where can we look to find an area where the United States is prepared to negotiate? There is no such readiness regarding weapons in space or chemical weapons or nuclear tests. We also find no such readiness at the Stockholm conference on confidence building measures. All the issues raised -- the commitment not to use nuclear weapons in a first strike, a nuclear-free zone in Europe, freezing all nuclear arsenals, and even limiting minor military activities such as maneuvers about a certain scale -- all these issues have been rejected.

Regarding the Geneva negotiations, the United States had the opportunity to remove all nuclear weapons from Europe. It refused to take advantage of this opportunity. It had the opportunity to considerably reduce the number of nuclear weapons based on the principle that no side be allowed a single missile more than the other, and Washington also missed this opportunity. Instead, it began deploying new missiles. As a result the negotiations became pointless.

This could change immediately if, as Comrade Chernenko said, Washington started exercising restraint. However, where is the United States showing restraint? There is no restraint in deploying new missiles in West Europe or anywhere else in the world. Restraint and moderation are foreign words in the United States.

This is very clear in Central America. A student of international law probably learns in his first semester that the mining of Nicaraguan ports is an act of aggression. There is no need to prove unprecedented arrogance when a leading U.S. State Department official states that France has no business in Central America and had better stay away. The Sunday TIMES wrote yesterday that the United States intends to overthrow the Sandinist government prior to the U.S. presidential elections and prior to elections in Nicaragua.

What has become of the dreams of those who had hoped the Reagan administration would show restraint at least in the election year? As I said, the straw which many people in the West grasped for does not exist. This means that also in 1984, a policy of negotiations and even a policy of limiting the harm done cannot be pursued together with the United States, but only against it. This also means that in 1984 such a policy also cannot be carried through against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, but only together with them. Nobody need doubt our readiness for cooperation with all states and our will for a reasonable dialogue.

CHERNENKO'S REMARKS ON U.S. ROLE IN ARMS TALKS

U.S. Ignores Equal Rights

AU111353 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Apr 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Who Is Truly Striving for Peace?"]

[Text] The replies given by Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the questions put to him by the Soviet newspaper PRAVDA, which we published yesterday, unambiguously document the Soviet Union's persistent and sincere effort to achieve a turn in the dangerous international development, to forever avert the threat of a nuclear war, and to rid mankind of its oppressive apprehensions concerning peace. The Soviet Union itself has already taken a number of exemplary steps which prove that its political line in international relations is consistently aimed toward peace, and that its disarmament proposals are a specific expression of political will and preparedness to permanently banish the ghost and terrors of war from this planet by way of negotiations, agreements, and acts.

The Soviet Union is the only nuclear power which has committed itself not to be the first to use nuclear arms. Other Soviet proposals are aimed at averting the militarization of outer space, at freezing nuclear arsenals, and at reducing the dangerous military confrontation in all spheres.

In his speech of 2 March 1984, Comrade Chernenko also outlined the norms of relations between nuclear powers; adherence to them would correspond to the vital interests of all peoples, and would not permit situations to emerge that would threaten a nuclear conflict.

However, despite all these efforts -- which are supported by all antiwar, peace-loving forces, and which are received with understanding by a considerable part of the world democratic public -- no turn toward an improvement of the situation has taken place in the world. The reasons are obvious. Far too many ominous facts testify that the U.S. Government is continuing its dangerous militarist course and that it is having new and increasingly dangerous armament programs further elaborated. Militarist plans, and the most monstrous theories of "feasible" nuclear war merely complete the picture of American imperialism's aggressive intentions. Proof of this is the new American nuclear first-strike weapons that are being deployed on the territories of America's Western European allies, above all, in the FRG -- in close proximity to the socialist countries. The same thing is testified to by the feverish development, production, and testing of antisatellite weapons and by the Pentagon's plans for a militarization of outer space and for acquiring military-strategic supremacy and a dominant U.S. position in all spheres. There is no doubt about the goals of this militarist policy, of this pursuance of U.S. military supremacy. With frank cynicism, President Reagan himself has proclaimed a "crusade" against the socialist countries, which he called the "evil empire" which must be destroyed.

In order to gain time for acquiring military supremacy over the Warsaw Pact states, the United States is resorting to outright hypocritical methods. These particularly include procrastinations and evasions in negotiations on halting the feverish armament both in the Soviet-American talks on strategic arms and on intermediate-range nuclear means, and the negotiations on a complete and general ban on nuclear arms tests, on antisatellite systems, and so forth. There was also no lack of procrastinations in ratifying the treaties that had already been agreed on, no lack of violations of the agreements that had been adopted, and no lack of laying down unacceptable conditions, accompanied by camouflaging talk about willingness to conduct a dialogue, about flexible attitudes and "new" U.S. proposals which, as Washington knew, were unrealistic and unacceptable. At the same time, the United States refused to approve even those resolutions which had been voted for by the overwhelming majority of UN members. This applies, for instance, to the resolution on declaring nuclear war to be the greatest crime against mankind, and also to other resolutions proposed by the socialist states against the threat of a nuclear war.

Washington has recently been resounding with, so-to-speak pious peace talk and appeals for a "dialogue," then it is all the more striking how such rhetorics are in contradiction to the deeds. The real truth about U.S. willingness and preparedness to reopen talks and to conduct a dialogue was contained in Comrade Chernenko's lapidary [lapidarni] replies to the paper PRAVDA: "But the question crops up -- negotiations on what? On the number and kind of missiles, aimed against the Soviet Union and against our allies, that the United States can deploy in Europe? We will not agree to such negotiations."

In the interests of their security, as well as in the interests of preserving peace throughout the world, the socialist countries cannot permit the aggressive forces of American imperialism to acquire military-strategic supremacy over the socialist countries. These countries are doing everything to establish an atmosphere in international relations in which one can not only reopen a dialogue with confidence, but also begin efficient negotiations which would lead to concrete agreements. Comrade Chernenko stressed: "As soon as the United States and other countries which are of the same opinion undertake measures for restoring the situation which existed prior to the beginning of the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe, the Soviet Union will not be long in following. Such is the realistic path toward negotiations."

However, Washington obviously has quite different ideas about negotiations, and believes that it will be possible to conduct negotiations with the USSR from positions of strength in the shadow of nuclear missiles that are targeted at the socialist community.

Washington is deliberately ignoring the logical principle of equal security and equal rights. Everything points to its actually not wanting to agree on anything. It refuses, for instance, to negotiate with the Soviet Union about averting the militarization of outer space -- under the pretext that, as it says, control in this sphere is too complicated! The United States has been using the difficulties with control as a pretext in other important negotiations and proposals also, whether it was a matter of banning chemical weapons, or of the treaty on limiting nuclear underground tests. The issues of control belong to the American arsenal of obstructions also at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. In fact, the United States is always coming out with this issue -- as was testified by many examples in the past -- when it does not want an agreement. The Soviet Union is not opposed to the control of measures for cutting down armaments and for disarmament. "In view of the U.S. policy and practice, we have, after all, the very same -- if not greater -- interest in their reliable control, a control that would be adequate to the concrete measures for limiting armament and for disarmament," Comrade Chernenko said.

Doubts about the seriousness of the American approach to the issues of dialogue and agreements are also expressed by certain politicians of countries allied with the United States. In his lecture at Maryland University on 3 April, former Federal Chancellor H. Schmidt said verbatim: "I doubt whether the intention to negotiate with the Soviet Union, which was proclaimed by President Reagan, is serious." At the same time, Schmidt stated that the U.S. endeavor to acquire military supremacy over the USSR is preventing the conclusion of disarmament agreements. He also expressed concern about the U.S. refusal to adhere to the treaties already concluded with the USSR.

As Comrade Chernenko said, the Soviet policy is a principled one, and not prone to succumbing to momentary fluctuations. This is testified to by the consistently implemented line of peaceful coexistence; by the CPCU's extensive program; and by the comprehensive complex of concrete proposals, which the USSR has been submitting in the last few years and which are aimed at easing tension, at disarming, and at eliminating nuclear war.

On the other hand, it is obvious that momentary, this time electoral, purposes of the ruling American Administration are the ones served by the change in President Reagan's vocabulary and in the vocabulary used by his Republican government team; this change is meant to camouflage an unwillingness to negotiate and to delude the peoples who are trusting the triumph of common sense. Reagan's masquerade as an advocate of dialogue and as peacemaker falls far too conspicuously into the period of his beginning his present election campaign. If American propaganda is currently trying to confuse the public by claiming that the USSR does not intend to conduct any negotiations with the United States for as long as President Reagan remains master of the White House, this merely testifies to the endeavor to subordinate this issue to momentary election goals. Surely the Soviet Union has negotiated in the past history of Soviet-American relations with different American Governments, regardless of whether the elections swept a representative of the Democratic or the Republican Party into the White House. The issues of maintaing peace and averting nuclear destruction are so urgent that one cannot wait to see whether the Washington government will change or not. The USSR and the other socialist countries never based their policy on such calculations; they are not doing so now. They subordinate their relations toward the United States to one principle only -- to the principle of equality, equal security, and mutual noninterference in internal affairs. The realization of this principle in practice would help establish an atmosphere of trust, an atmosphere that would be favorable for a creative dialogue and for agreements aimed at halting the feverish armament race and at ensuring peace. Currently, there is no more urgent problem than this.

U.S. Rhetoric Deceptive

AU111754 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Apr 84 p 5

[Unsigned commentary: "With Frankness and Clarity Against Falsehood"]

[Text] We cannot deny it -- Soviet foreign policy is a favorite subject of bourgeois propaganda in the Western countries. This fact has recently become more than evident. An avalanche of reviews, commentaries, analyses, and guesses are focusing on the "Kremlin's behavior" regarding various aspects of international relations. As a rule, the Washington administration, under the leadership of the master in the White House, sets the tone of this radio, television, and newspaper storm, which erupts at various intervals after infrequent periods of silence. Presidents, premiers, ministers, members of parliament, and official spokesmen of the states whose governments are particularly fixed on "Atlantic solidarity" are joining in the choir following the U.S. President, and their voices are ranging from subdued tones in minor key to loud "crescendos."

Through such rhetorics, the political and propaganda power of the NATO upper crust is trying to convince public opinion of its "peace-loving spirit" and is transferring, at the same time, the responsibility for the dramatic state of the problems of peace and international security to the Soviet Union and to the Warsaw Pact states.

The answers given by Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the daily, PRAVDA, which were published yesterday, not only categorically disavow and unmask this unprecedented insolence and badly concealed campaign of falsehood. With remarkable frankness and clarity the Soviet leader revealed the truth about the danger threatening both Europe and the world, and specifically pointed out those who are responsible for this threat.

The Western statesmen and the ruling team in Washington are spending their rehetorical energies with particular eagerness in support of the deception that the numerous programs on superrearmament forced by them and aimed at obtaining military superiority over the USSR and its allies makes peace and security more stable and the international situation more peaceful. It is difficult to find another such example in contemporary political history where so much hypocrisy and irresponsibility are wasted on proving that black is white.

Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, with accuracy and strong arguments, explains the notorious problem of the Soviet-American dialogue and the question of negotiations with the West on all controversial issues, speaking generally. He recalls that for several years the United States and its NATO allies have been pleading for negotiations of a peculiar kind, likely to serve as a cover for the militarist orientation of their own foreign policy and for their striving to obtain advantages from the unprecedented escalation of the arms race and from weakening the economic and defense opportunities of the socialist community.

Such goals are without any realism and cannot be defended by streams of eloquence, nor can they be supported by pompous statements and gestures of alleged peace-loving attitudes, as those characterizing the propaganda concerning all new moves of the Washington administration. Under the powerful shadow of the new American medium-range missiles deployed in Western Europe, under the thunder and blinding flash of new types of super-powerful weapons intended for mass destruction that are being tested, one cannot convince mankind that the source of danger should be sought somewhere else.

The Soviet Government by no means conceals its concern about the fact that, as a result of the senseless actions of the United States and NATO, a threatening destabilization of the foundations of peace and international security has been created. The Soviet Government's efforts are aimed at neutralizing the militarist fever that has befallen the leading circles in Washington and in other NATO capitals. Numerous initiatives and proposals which are part of the Soviet peace program for the eighties are dictated neither by opportunistic motives, nor by a striving to obtain one-sided advantages. All these initiatives, on the contrary, have one advantage -- namely the one of considering the interests of both East and West on an equal basis, the interests of all countries and peoples, as a matter of fact.

The USSR is the one state which has proved and still continues to prove its staunch adherence to a constructive dialogue to negotiations, as the only correct method of settling all problems concerning peace, security, and disarmament. This is why the Leninist general line of policy is enjoying such tremendous popularity and will certainly achieve its noble goals.

Deeds Must Support Words

AU111827 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 10 Apr 84 pp 1, 4

[Ivan Vladkov article: "Deeds Are Needed, Not Fireworks"]

[Text] The answers of Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the questions posed to him by PRAVDA have provoked deep thought because of their sincerity and depth as well as of their hope that there are still many possibilities for contributing to the strengthening of peace and international security with concrete deeds.

The real truth about the present international situation was explained with no beating around the bush: "The world situation is not, unfortunately, improving. It continues to be quite dangerous." The causes for this were also revealed. It is known that they are to be found in the U.S.' obvious striving to attain military superiority which will ensure it world domination. The new U.S. programs for creating and deploying nuclear weapons and the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe are undoubtedly contributing to this goal. In addition to this, the United States has begun fulfilling a vast program for militarizing space as well as restoring and increasing the number of chemical weapons which it stockpiles on foreign territory.

This is the complex nature of the international situation, which is provoked not so much by the statements and tales of the U.S. President, as by his practical activities that aim at undermining world peace and security.

Preelection events in the United States forced Ronald Reagan to change his tune a little and even to artistically present himself as a "peace-lover," though he himself intentionally brought to a failure the process on limiting and reducing nuclear weapons and the talks on strategic weapons and on nuclear weapons in Europe. Thus, in addition to idle talk and preelection fireworks, the White House has demonstrated nothing new and reasonable up to date. "Our contacts with the U.S. side," Comrade Chernenko noted, "also show that no positive changes regarding these cardinal issues have appeared at all in the U.S. stand." By unmasking the recent peaceful rhetorics of Washington, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized that the bringing in of new words does not mean the bringing in of a new policy.

K. Chernenko, who is precise and categorical in his answers, clearly indicates that the Soviet Union is ready for talks "immediately, as soon as the United States and the other NATO countries, acting together, undertake measures to restore the situation existing before the beginning of deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe." K. Chernenko leaves no doubt about the Soviet Union's stand on these issues and expresses the conviction that this is the realistic path toward the talks and that any other approach is unacceptable.

The heavy and complicated international situation is provoking concern in millions of people in the world. They persistently wish to live and work in peace and security. That is why Chernenko, being a far-sighted and realistic politician, sees even in the smallest positive steps a hope for saving mankind from the nuclear threat. In his view, this can happen when the arms race process is stopped and turned back. For this purpose, deeds, and not only idle words, are needed. No complicated talks are needed for the nuclear countries to assume the obligations not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, to renounce attempts to win military superiority, and to create an atmosphere of confidence in international relations, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized.

The answers of Comrade K. Chernenko to the questions posed to him by PRAVDA again confirm the fact that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the rest of the socialist countries is consistent and realistic and pursues the only goal -- peace, security, and cooperation among the peoples. This policy has never been affected by any circumstantial considerations and machinations. The history of the Great October has confirmed this in a most unambiguous way. That is why by defending the principled realistic stands and by revealing the danger at the present moment, the Soviet Union again points out the paths toward safeguarding peace and security and at the same time clearly states when and on what the talks can and must be held.

Deadlock at Geneva Talks

LD112027 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 11 Apr 84

["Who Wants To Talk?" -- MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, April 11 (MTI) -- "Konstantin Chernenko has left no doubt: The Soviet Union is seeking the way back to genuine talks and agreement. However, it takes two parties to talk and the other side must also be ready for fair negotiations between equal partners," writes Ferenc Varnai, foreign political editor of NEPSZABADSAG, in the daily's Wednesday edition commenting Chernenko's recent interview with PRAVDA.

The author points out that in his highly important statement the general secretary of the CPSU CC named facts to show that the statements and actions of Washington leaders on readiness to have talks do not tally.

"What was the original aim of the Geneva talks on strategic weapons and medium-range missiles? Limitation and reduction of nuclear armament, prevention of the acceleration of the armament race and averting the danger of a nuclear war."

"While, however, the representatives of the two nuclear superpowers talked on for years, the American administration indulged in a practice that sharply contrasted the aims of the Geneva talks. It took military measures aimed at the development of a new strategic situation and the attainment of American supremacy of power, which give an impetus to the armament race and considerably increase the risk of nuclear war. In this way the talks were turned into means to mislead the world public opinion, including also the NATO and the American public."

"It is not the way of the talks that has become inappropriate. Only the American way of handling matters has brought the Geneva talks to a temporary deadlock. It has been their habit of trying to ignore that it is impossible to discuss fair reduction and deploy missiles of first-strike power simultaneously in order to acquire military supremacy."

The author points out that the repeated constructive negotiation proposals of the Soviet Union are unfortunately ignored in Washington. "Who wants to talk? Is it he who wants to promote agreement and makes one proposal after the other for disarmament and the limitation of armaments, or he who does not go farther than repeat his readiness to talk, in nice words?" asked the editor of NEPSZABADSAG.

'NEW ATTACK' ON KOSOVO OFFICIALS, INTELLIGENTSIA

AU111919 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] As reported by the newspaper JEDINSTVO, published in Kosovo, Svetislav Djurasevic, of Serbian nationality, has been nominated as candidate for president of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo. As reported in the newspaper, he has held important functions in the UDBA [State Security Administration] in Kosovo.

With his nomination to this position, as is pointed out by various observers, a return to the practices under Rankovic is being made, when the position of the president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists was held exclusively by Serbian officials. It is also noted that in the administration of the province, communes, enterprises, and other institutions, a massive replacement of Albanian officials by Serbian officials is taking place. At the same time, under the pretext of ideopolitical differentiation, the Belgrade press -- and this is also reflected at many meetings in Kosovo -- is waging a campaign to dismiss very distinguished personalities of Albanian nationality from the fields of culture, education, science, the press, and the arts.

According to [words indistinct], who demand that measures be adopted against all those who do not publicly slander Albania and who do not openly deny the traditions and history of the Albanian people, it appears that a new attack is being prepared in Kosovo against the Albanian intelligentsia and Albanian officials.

BRIEFS

FINNISH AMBASSADOR ARRIVES -- Jussi Montonen, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, arrived in our country today. [Excerpt] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Apr 84 AU]

ENVOY TO THE NETHERLANDS -- Maxhun Peka, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Netherlands, has presented his credentials to Queen Beatrix. [Excerpt] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 5 Apr 84 AU]

SRV STATE PLANNING OFFICIAL CONCLUDES VISIT

Zhivkov Receives Kiet

AU110928 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has received Vo Van Kiet, member of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee of Vietnam, who is paying an official visit to Bulgaria. The talks, held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, were also attended by Comrades Todor Bozhinov and Stanish Bonev.

Zhivkov Praises SRV Policy

AU111447 Sofia BTA in English 1040 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Mr Vo Van Kiet, a member of the Politburo of the CC of the Vietnamese Communist Party, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee of Vietnam.

Mr Todor Zhivkov made a high assessment of bilateral relations being consolidated and enriched in the interest of the Bulgarian and Vietnamese people, of the whole socialist community, of peace and socialism in the world.

The Bulgarian top leader emphasized Bulgaria's great appreciation of the consistent and constructive policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam of friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world, towards turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and security.

Mr Vo Van Kiet, who is heading the Vietnamese delegation paying a friendly visit here, thanked for the opportunity offered to them to become better acquainted with Bulgaria's experience in economy management. This will make it possible for Vietnam to develop and deepen her cooperation with Bulgaria and the other socialist community countries, the guest emphasized.

Plan Coordination Memorandum

AU112042 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Talks have taken place between Comrade Stanish Bonev and Vo Van Kiet, member of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier, and chairman of the SRV State Planning Committee. Questions related to coordinating the plans for the period 1986-1990 were discussed. It was stressed unanimously that the main task now is for the Bulgarian and Vietnamese central planning organs of the ministries and economic organizations to direct their efforts toward implementing the long-range program on economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries.

Today Comrades Stanish Bonev and Vo Van Kiet signed a memorandum on their talks. Comrade Todor Bozhinov, chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Joint Bulgarian-SRV Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation, attended the signing.

SRV Delegation Departs

AU120715 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 12 Apr 84

[Text] The Vietnamese delegation led by Vo Van Kiet, member of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee of Vietnam, has left the country. The delegation had paid a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee.

The Vietnamese guests were cordially seen off at Sofia airport by Comrades Todor Bozhinov and Stanish Bonev.

MLADENOV LEAVES FOR FRANCE ON OFFICIAL VISIT

AU120930 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 12 Apr 84

[Text] Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, left for Paris today on an official visit at the invitation of Claude Cheysson, minister of external relations of France. Comrade Petur Mladenov was seen off at Sofia airport by deputy ministers of foreign affairs and high-ranking officials of the ministry.

PROTOCOL FOR 1984-85 TRADE WITH PAKISTAN SIGNED

AU112055 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA) -- A 1984-1985 trade protocol was signed here today by Bulgaria and Pakistan.

The protocol provides for the overall amount of deliveries in both directions to go up to 91 million U.S. dollars.

Bulgaria will export to Pakistan fertilizers, electric equipment, instruments and equipment for working shops, equipment for the mining, the power generation, the chemical and the pharmaceutical industry. For its part Pakistan will export to Bulgaria cotton fabrics and other cotton articles, leather and leather goods, pig iron, groats, goods of the light industry and mechanical engineering.

The leader of the Pakistani delegation, Mr Izharul Haw, secretary of the Ministry of Trade of Pakistan, was received by the Bulgarian Minister of Trade, Mr Khristo Khristov. During his visit in the country, the Pakistani guest showed special interest and was made familiar with the activity of the engineering organizations of technoexport and technoimport.

STANISHEV, LEBANESE OFFICIAL DISCUSS MIDDLE EAST

AU112039 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Sofia, April 11 (BTA) -- The secretary of the CC of the BCP, Mr Dimitur Stanishev, received a delegation of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, which is visiting the country at the invitation of the National Council of the Fatherland Front. The Lebanese delegation is led by the Secretary General of the Party, Mr Fuad Salman.

During the ensuing talks there were exchanged views on the Middle East, especially the situation in Lebanon.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 11 April carries a report on the visit and adds: "The Lebanese delegation was also received by Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo."]

LEADERS HONOR INDIAN SPACE FLIGHT PARTICIPATION

AU111329 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Telegram from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Zail Singh, president of the Republic of India, and Indira Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India]

[Text] On behalf of the State Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of all Bulgarians, and on our own behalf, we most cordially congratulate you on the occasion of the flight of the first Indian citizen in space, with results from India's friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union.

We wish you further successes in utilizing space for peaceful purposes.

BCP GREETS HONDURAN CP ON 30TH ANNIVERSARY

AU111041 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following telegram to the Honduran Communist Party Central Committee:

On behalf of the Communists and working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the BCP Central Committee most cordially congratulates the Communists of Honduras on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of founding the Honduras Communist Party.

In its 30-year history and with its consistent and steady activity in defending the vital interests of the working people, your party has achieved, with justification, deep respect and prestige among the workers, peasants and all progressive forces in the country.

We wish you further and greater successes in the future strengthening and unity of action of the democratic and progressive forces in Honduras, in the struggle against imperialism and reaction for true national independence and sovereignty, for peace, democracy and social progress.

We confirm our readiness to further deepen the relations between our two parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and in the name of our common struggle for the triumph of communist ideals.

IMPORTANCE OF INCREASED TRADE WITH USSR STRESSED

AU111507 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 10 Apr 84 p 1

["HV"-signed article in column "On a Topical Theme: "Advantageous and Necessary Cooperation"]

[Text] The bilateral foreign trade relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, which have been developing without interruption for almost 4 decades now, play an indispensable role in the two countries' economic and social advancement. During the years of postwar cooperation, the exchange of goods rapidly increased and the Soviet Union soon became Czechoslovakia's largest trading partner.

At present the USSR's share in Czechoslovakia's overall foreign trade turnover is 41 percent. The CSSR -- with a 10 percent share in the USSR's overall foreign trade turnover -- occupies second place among its trading partners.

The most recent data are always the most convincing. Last year the value of bilateral deliveries of goods between the CSSR and the USSR totaled almost R11 billion. This year the trade exchange between the two countries is to reach R12.2 billion; that is, 12 percent more than the previous year.

However, what is telling is not only the figures representing, as a rule, the volume achieved, but also that which is hidden behind them: what direction this cooperation is taking, and what it yields to the two countries and their peoples. For the CSSR, the deliveries of Soviet fuels and raw and other materials are, without doubt, vitally important. In the opposite case the deliveries of Czechoslovak machinery and equipment, as well as of consumer goods -- above all, footwear, clothes, knitted wear, furniture, and glass -- play the key role.

Let us recall that the USSR ensures 93 percent of the CSSR's needs of crude oil and natural gas; 83 percent of iron ore; 94 percent of pig iron; 77 percent of chromium ore; 71 percent of asbestos; 97 percent of finished lumber [rezivo]; and 59 percent of cotton. Nitrogen fertilizers, which the CSSR needs, come exclusively from the USSR.

The considerable extent and the planned growth of Soviet orders for Czechoslovak machinery and equipment permits a large series production and a long-term utilization of production capacities, particularly in heavy engineering. Especially advantageous for us are the Soviet orders for ships, rolling [valcovaci] and chemical equipment, machine tools and forming machinery, as well as transportation technology and so forth. This, of course, does not mean that machinery and equipment from the USSR do not have their firm place in the trade exchange between the CSSR and the USSR. Soviet machine tools are in operation in many of our enterprises, Soviet motor locomotives are in operation on our railroads, Soviet passenger automobiles are popular, and Soviet excavating machines, bulldozers, and other machinery and equipment are well established.

The dynamizing element of CSSR-USSR trade is the long-term program of specialization and cooperation in production. This progressive form of cooperation is the expression of the fulfillment of the continuing process of socialist economic integration between the two countries. A sufficient argument is the fact that the deliveries from the CSSR, manufactured on the basis of this program, constitute one half of all deliveries; the share of deliveries from the USSR, manufactured on the basis of specialization and cooperation, total some 30 percent of the overall volume of goods destined for the CSSR.

The implementation of bilateral commitments pertaining to putting jointly built capacities into operation is also markedly reflected in the successful trade balance sheet. In the CSSR this is, for example, the new department in the Chemko national enterprise in Strazske, the new blast furnace in the East Slovak Ironworks in Kosice, or the Paskov pulp mill. Some 40 enterprises and other projects, mostly in the metallurgical, coal, chemical, nuclear power engineering and similar industries are today being modernized in our country with Soviet assistance.

With its deliveries, the CSSR has helped to put into operation in the USSR, for example, the mill train of the 3000 type in Zhdanov; in the metallurgical works in Novo Lipetsk [Novolipecka Hut] Czechoslovak experts have contributed to introducing a new rolling technology; in Jaroslavl they have introduced a series production of new truck tires; in Riga and Tambov Czechoslovak deliveries served the modernization of bakeries, and of breweries in a number of Soviet cities, beginning with Samarkand and ending, let us say, with Novokuznetsk. Deliveries of equipment for the modernization of two enterprises for leather-processing and footwear production in Voroshilovgrad and Yerevan are also being prepared.

Our advanced industry could not exist without Soviet raw materials and fuel-energy resources. Numerous branches and sectors would not be able to achieve their present standard without Soviet expert and technical assistance and without the guaranteed sales on the Soviet market. Some sectors, such as, for example, nuclear power engineering, would never come into being. Trade cooperation with the USSR also increases our chance to achieve peak productions and to assert ourselves in the world. The trade cooperation with the Soviet Union, as a stabilizing factor, has a substantial influence on the growth of our national economy.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION TALKS WITH BULGARIAN LEADER

LD120827 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] In Prague today Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, who is on a short working visit to Czechoslovakia.

During their conversation the two representatives praised the results achieved thus far in the development of all-round relations between the two countries. They paid particular attention to cooperation in the economic sphere, particularly the widening of cooperation in production and specialization in engineering, electronics, and other branches. In increasing the level of bilateral relations in the coming period, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria are concentrating on fuller use of forms and proposals arising from the main trends in widening and deepening economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries after 1985, accepted at talks between the highest party and state representatives of the two countries, Gustav Husak and Todor Zhivkov, in September 1982 in Sofia.

The chairman of the two sides of the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Committee for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, Deputy Federal Premier Ladislav Gerle and Deputy Chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers Andrey Lukanov also met in Prague today. As well as evaluating the level achieved in economic relations, other topics were discussed including individual tasks for widening economic cooperation in the next period.

CPCZ SENDS ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS TO HONDURAN CP

AU111130 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Apr 84 p 1

["Z"-signed report]

[Text] Prague, 9 Apr -- On behalf of all Czechoslovak Communists, the CPCZ Central Committee sent a telegram of greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras in connection with the 30th anniversary of its founding.

The telegram of greetings states that since its founding, the Communist Party of Honduras has been consistently defending the interests of the Honduran working people and waging a struggle against imperialist domination by the United States and for genuine national liberation and fundamental social transformations in Honduras. It plays an important role in uniting Honduran revolutionary, democratic, and progressive forces in the struggle against the aggressive policy of the United States in Central America. In conclusion, the CPCZ Central Committee expresses firm solidarity with the struggle of the Honduran Communists and broad popular masses against reaction, imperialism, and for peace and socialism.

CORRECTION TO IRAQI CP FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Iraqi CP Founding Marked; Gulf War Viewed," published in the 9 April Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page D 5. Please make subslug read:

[Vladimir Lipsky article: "Half a Century of Struggles of the Iraqi Communist Party; in a Battle Full of Sacrifices"] (correcting spelling of author's surname)

PRAGUE ARCHBISHOP INVITES POPE FOR 1985 VISIT

AU111709 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1640 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Prague Archbishop Tomasek today confirmed to KATHPRESS that he has invited the pope to visit the CSSR next year.

In 1985 the Catholic Church in the CSSR will celebrate the 1000th anniversary of the death of the apostle of the Slavs, Methodius. It is the desire of the Czech and Slovak Catholics that the pope participate in these celebrations. The CSSR authorities have been informed about the invitation. However, there has been no statement thus far from them on this matter; nor has there been an answer from the pope.

According to reports today from Czechoslovak expatriate circles in Vienna, signatures are being collected in the CSSR on a petition for a visit by the pope. Some 10,000 CSSR citizens have allegedly already signed the petition. The authorities would consider such an action as illegal. Many signature collectors have reportedly been arrested.

'ANTISOCIAL PHENOMENA' AFFECT STATE PLAN RESULTS

AU111053 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Apr 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Erecting a Barrier Against Antisocial Phenomena"]

[Text] The information media report daily about the work successes of production collectives, novelties from research institutes, and examples of extraordinary selflessness.

At present, a new wave of initiative is rising to mark the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, a wave that increasingly reflects support for the measures of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government aimed at raising the original targets of the state plan for this year.

However, the current picture is marred by some negative phenomena, such as the theft of socialist property, instances of bribery, favoritism, misuse of facilities belonging to socialist organizations for one's own money-making activities, violations of discipline, and the like. The impact of these phenomena is dangerous in two ways -- they damage society and are an affront to those who are conscientious and honest and who rightly demand a remedy. They usually call for action by supraordinated economic bodies, urge the security corps to be even more vigilant, and ask how it is possible that no one from the management of the enterprise or economic production unit concerned took any action.

However, is it enough to call for action by others? After all, most of the antisocial phenomena we are talking about cannot escape the attention of those surrounding them, and their perpetrators, too, tend to be known.

More than ever before, the public has recently been involved in the struggle against instances of the violation of the principles of socialist legality, ethics, and discipline. This is in response to the oft-quoted letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium to party bodies and organizations aimed at deepening the effectiveness of the struggle against violations of the principles of socialist legality, ethics, and discipline, as well as in response to measures of the government and the Central Trade Union Council [URD]. The trade unions, as our largest mass organization with influence on virtually every place of work, are eager to participate in this struggle. Part of these efforts is, for example, the check on economic crime recently carried out by URO, a check from which the URO Secretariat has drawn conclusions for the work of trade unions.

In the last few years almost 26 percent of all known offenders have been prosecuted for offenses against the socialist economy. The majority of them were guilty of theft of property in socialist ownership. During the course of a single year, however, the number of prosecuted persons registered a sharp increase -- by about 21 percent. At first glance this is not a favorable piece of information; we prefer to hear and read about a decline in the crime rate. Yet the data mentioned do have their positive aspect. The increase in the number of prosecuted persons is a manifestation of the increased and more intensive activity of the courts, of the more active role of control bodies, and -- as has been mentioned already -- of the more significant role played by the public in the struggle against economic crime.

The continuation of the struggle against antisocial phenomena in the national economy should be all the easier as the forms of theft of socialist-owned property are essentially known, as is the make-up of offenders. More than 50 percent of them are employees of the harmed organizations. The main motive of thefts continues to be the endeavor to raise one's living standards without having to earn the means for it. Honest people will immediately ask how it is possible to derive any pleasure from that which was acquired at the expense of others.

Persons prosecuted for offenses against the economic system, such as racketeering, unlawful business ventures, damaging consumers, misuse of socialist business activities, and so forth, account for only a negligible proportion of the total amount of crime. Yet there is no reason to rejoice at this. This type of criminal activity takes place in a so-called dark area and it is high time to suffuse it with light.

Offenses against economic discipline deserve particular attention. Their share in total crime does not exceed 3 percent, but their number is growing. This is alarming, because behind this type of offense are hidden false data needed for the management, planning, and control of the national economy. It could seem that this is a lesser offense and that it is possible to connive at it. However, it suffices to ponder the consequences of these instances of violations of economic discipline and to go back to an idea expressed by V.I. Lenin even before the Great October Socialist Revolution. "Record-keeping and control are the main things," he wrote, "for the first phase of the communist society to be put into operation and for it to function properly."

Let us repeat this again: for it is FUNCTION [word in uppercase is published in wide-spaced type] properly -- because without objective and concrete data, management cannot fulfill its present tasks, let alone its future ones -- accurate information is the first prerequisite for adopting a correct decision, and the more complicated the division of labor becomes, the more important also becomes the quality of information, because the correctness of tens, hundreds, and possibly thousands of other decisions in cooperating enterprises and plants depends on it. Nor can we ignore yet another dependence, namely that the degree of the accuracy of information also determines the direction of the further development of working people's initiative, its orientation, and the quality of the participation of production and other collectives in management.

Hence, that which at first seems to be an almost insignificant transgression assumes in a broader context a socially, politically, and technically dangerous character.

We have every right to doubt the credibility of some data about criminal activity and to believe that reality surpasses them. However, we can be absolutely sure about one thing: The absolute majority of the managerial staff are good and outstanding organizers who enjoy respect and great authority, owing to their adherence to principles and their political and moral positions.

Yet -- and this must be said as well -- there are also managers who commit criminal acts. Yes, criminal, because this is how our code of law characterizes instances of economic functionaries obtaining in obscure ways illicit advantages for the organization which they are heading, creating, or tolerating black funds, covering up the payment of black wages, offering bribes in the interest of "strengthening" supplier-user relations, illegally supporting sports organizations, and having a penchant for excessive representation.

The interest of society requires that violations of economic discipline resulting in poor quality production be prosecuted and fought against much more energetically. However, the check initiated by the URO shows that sanctions tend to be minimal and infrequent. This is not through the fault of laws, regulations, or other norms. Our code of law reckons, and had to reckon with negative phenomena in the sphere of work and technological discipline and provides ranking personnel with effective means for penalizing those who do not fulfill their obligations or violate them, be it deliberately or out of gross negligence. Some time ago, unnecessary damage of more than Kcs5 million occurred in the Tesla Bratislava enterprise. The culprits paid a total of Kcs181! It is not difficult to guess what they thought: Since they got away so easily with their gross carelessness, the whole affair could not have been all that terrible and there was no need to burden one's mind with discipline.

We still owe and answer to the question why the means for tightening discipline are used so hesitantly, if at all.

The reason is twofold: Many leading officials either do not know the means available to them, or they do not have the courage to impose them. Trade unions frequently fail to discharge their proper functions in this regard.

It may seem that, in discussing the struggle against violations of the principles of socialist legality, ethics, and discipline, we have attached more greater importance to the role of the ranking personnel than, let us say, to the culprits. This is no coincidence! The party and society have entrusted the ranking personnel with not only material assets but also responsibility for guiding people and their education. To educate means, above all, to assert the social interest and even to enter conflicts if it is necessary to safeguard this social interest. In discussing issues connected with the letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, party bodies and organizations should also pay attention to this circumstance. Trade unions, too, must intensify their activity in the struggle against violations of the principles of socialist legality, ethics, and discipline even more and concentrate on educating the working people and enhancing their legal awareness. Together with the ranking personnel, the enterprise committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement will organize discussions and lectures in enterprises and plants and will pillory in public everyone who violates discipline, no matter which form this violation may take. Particularly active in this respect are the trade unions in North Bohemia, West Bohemia, and West Slovakia.

Wherever the resolution of the URO Secretariat proceeding from the letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium is discussed, the working people spontaneously approve it and more and more actively support it. This is documented by the growing number of observations and notifications about phenomena that deserve criticism. It would help the cause if these observations were even more specific.

The progress is thus pronounced. It will be even more pronounced if the precept even more deeply penetrates the public awareness that the introduction of order does not require any, or only very small, investments but yields enormous effect.

BRIEFS

END OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S TOUR -- Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received today Aleksandr Botvin, ambassador of the USSR in Czechoslovakia, prior to the latter's ending his tour of duty. In a comradely and friendly conversation, he praised Aleksandr Botvin's merits in the all-round development of friendship and cooperation, as well as the strengthening of unity between our communist parties and countries as an active contribution towards developing scientific-technological and economic cooperation and deepening specialization and cooperation as the basic prerequisite for the further successful development of Czechoslovak economy. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 11 Apr 84 LD]

HUSAK RECEIVES NEW SOVIET AMBASSADOR -- Gustav Husak, general manager of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, received in Prague today the newly appointed ambassador of the CSSR to the USSR, Mirislav Zavadil, in connection with his taking up diplomatic office. The newly appointed ambassador was also received by Vasil Bilak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, and Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 11 Apr 84 LD]

JAKES, HAVLIN AT HUNGARIAN RECEPTION -- On the occasion of the national day of the Hungarian People's Republic and the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, Bela Kovacs, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic, organized a friendly meeting in Prague on Wednesday. Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Lubomir Prochazka, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; and other representatives of our political and public life came to congratulate him. Representatives of the embassies of socialist countries in the CSSR were also present. The participants in the meeting, which was held in a cordial atmosphere, viewed a documentary film about the historical events surrounding the founding of the Hungarian Republic of Councils. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Apr 84 p 2 AU]

COMPUTER CONFERENCE -- An all-state conference with international participation, attended by 360 experts from Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, Poland, and the Soviet Union, was concluded on 29 March in Karlovy Vary. The conference dealt with the problems of computer centers and with the implementation of the interaction principle in the work of computer centers and their users, as well as with the organization and direction of this work. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Mar 84 p 2 AU]

TRADE WITH CHINA -- An exhibition of CSSR-made telecommunication equipment, printing machines, and measuring and computer technology opened in Beijing on 21 March. "Another expression of bilateral interest in increasing trade between the CSSR and China was the signing on Wednesday [21 March] of a contract, under the terms of which another 700 Tatra-815 and Skoda-706 trucks will be delivered to China this year. Czechoslovak Jawa and CZ motorcycles have appeared on Chinese roads again, and Chinese customers are interested in further contracts." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Mar 84 p 7 AU]

NICARAGUAN TRADE UNIONISTS -- A delegation of the Central Trade Union Council and a delegation of the Sandinist Labor Federation from Nicaragua, which is in the CSSR at the invitation of the Central Trade Union Council, met for a friendly talk in Prague yesterday. They assessed the results of cooperation thus far and the prospects of its further intensification. The Nicaraguan trade unionists spoke about the struggle of their people against the American aggressors, who are waging an undeclared war against their country. The representatives of Czechoslovak trade unions expressed full solidarity with the efforts of the people of Nicaragua to bring about social progress. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Mar 84 p 2 AU]

ARGENTINE PARLIAMENTARIANS -- A delegation of Argentine senators and deputies, which is paying a visit to the CSSR, was received in Prague on 4 April by Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and Ludek Kapitola, chairman of the Czechoslovak-Latin American parliamentary group. In a friendly conversation they exchanged views on the present international situation and the development of Czechoslovak-Argentina relations in all spheres, including cooperation between the two countries' parliaments. The reception was attended by Angel Maria Oliveri Lopez, ambassador of the Argentine Republic of the CSSR. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Apr 84 p 2 AU]

ASSISTANCE TO PLO, ANC -- In the first quarter of 1984, the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front provided from its Peace and Solidarity Fund, set up from voluntary contributions of Czechoslovak citizens, the following material assistance: 4 ambulances to the PLO, lighting fixtures to the Mozambique Society for Friendship and Solidarity Among Nations (AMASP) for its reconstructed building in Maputo, and footwear and sleeping bags to the African National Congress [ANC]. The value of this material assistance totals Kcs950,000. All consignments were delivered by Czechoslovak representative offices in the appropriate countries. [Text] [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 4 Apr 84 p 1 AU]

CONCERNS CONVEYED TO LA OLYMPICS COMMITTEE HEAD

LD112312 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1447 GMT 11 Apr 84

["Open Letter to the President of the Organizing Committee of the 1984 23d Olympic Games in Los Angeles, Peter Ueberroth" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 11 Apr (ADN) -- The president of the National Olympic Committee (NOC) of the GDR, Manfred Ewald, has addressed the following open letter to the president of the Organizing Committee of the 1984 23d Olympic Games in Los Angeles:

Mr President: A few weeks before the start of the 23d Olympic Games, our participation in which we have to decide upon by 2 June in accordance with the Olympic Charter, the situation surrounding the Olympic games in Los Angeles is causing us great concern.

As you know, during several visits by official NOC delegations of our country to Los Angeles and during a visit to our country by representatives of your organization (LAOOC), led by you, we discussed the need to settle many questions, which so far you have not done. Instead, serious difficulties have arisen through violations of the regulations of the Olympic Charter.

So far, we have also not had any confirmation of the promised landing rights for our aircraft of GDR Interflug. You have not informed us in which of the Olympic villages our team can live. There is no confirmation of the accreditation and working possibilities for additional trainers, doctors, masseurs, mechanics, and so on, who, as you know, are definitely required for the proper care of our Olympic team.

For many services, which at all previous Olympic games were provided free, very high prices are demanded that bear no relationship to their real value. We have to note with displeasure that the orders of entrance tickets for our sportsmen and women have been refused.

Repeatedly, for reasons which are known to you, we have pointed to the need to guarantee the safety of all Olympic participants in the United States, and, in this connection, protection from political provocations and demonstrations. Instead of this, anticommunist, chiefly anti-Soviet activities, which make the presence of the Olympic teams of the socialist countries dangerous, are tolerated by official circles of the United States, the state of California, and the city of Los Angeles.

It is incomprehensible that the LAOOC has accredited the spy station "Radio Free Europe," although no accreditation may be accorded it in accordance with a decision made by the IOC.

Mr President, the representatives of the NOC of the GDR have stressed at all talks so far that we want to take part in the Olympic games, but that for this it is necessary that the Olympic Charter is observed by the Los Angeles organizing committee and that equal conditions be created for all sportsmen and women, so that there can be honest, fair competition in line with the rules of the international federations. Hence, we urgently request you to meet your responsibility to ensure this.

In this connection, we remind you of the statement by U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who in June 1982 promised the IOC and the Olympic movement that the United States would observe the Olympic Charter. There is no time to lose. The organizing committee must take the President at his word. They have a great responsibility for the Olympic movement and the Olympic games.

Deeply concerned about the serious problems still to be solved before the 23d Olympiad begins, we have written to the IOC and its president, Juan Antonio Samaranch, and to the president of the World Association of Olympic Committees, Mario V. Rana, informed them of the above facts and asked them to take relevant steps.

The NOC of the GDR bases its great respect for the Olympic Games on the fact that they are a worlwide symbol for international understanding and the common striving for peace. In this spirit we also support the success of the games of the 23d Olympiad in Los Angeles and hence expect that, for all the sportsmen and women who are currently preparing with great work and commitment, such conditions are created as laid down by the Olympic Charter and the rules of the international sports federations.

Respectfully yours, M. Ewald, president of the NOC of the GDR

PRC ECONOMIC DELEGATION SEEKS EXPANDED RELATIONS

LD112122 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1229 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Berlin, 11 Apr (ADN) -- A PRC economic delegation arrived in Berlin today for talks on the further continuous development of relations between the GDR and the PRC in the economic and scientific-technological spheres. It is headed by the vice minister of the state economic commission, Professor Zhu Rongji.

The guests were welcomed at Berlin Schoenefeld Airport by Dr Dieter Albrecht, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; Dr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy foreign minister; and Eugen Kattner, deputy minister of foreign trade.

The negotiations of the two delegations, chairmed by Dr Dieter Albrecht and Professor Chief Engineer Zhu Rongji, began today. Both sides expressed the desire to expand overall economic relations between the GDR and the PRC for the benefit of both states and peoples. They reaffirmed that in shaping their relations the GDR and the PRC started from the principles of equal rights and of respect for sovereignty and integrity, noninterference and mutual advantage.

The PRC ambassador to the GDR, Li Qiangfen, took part in the consultations and meetings.

During the stay in the GDR the PRC economic delegation will have talks with members of the GDR Council of Ministers and visit combines and enterprises of the engineering and plant construction, precision mechanics and optics, vehicle construction and processing industries.

SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of general and agricultural engineering and vehicle construction, received Professor Chief Engineer Zhu Rongji and his entourage. Both sides discussed measures for the deepening of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the PRC, particularly in the agriculture and food industry and in the transportation system.

HONECKER GREETS STUDENTS FEDERATION CONGRESS

LD110858 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0202 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Berlin, 11 Apr (ADN) -- At a time when decisions of great consequence are being made, the younger generation is recognizing increasingly clearly that peoples can only live happily in peace.

This is pointed out in a greetings address from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the delegates and guests of the 14th congress of member organizations of the International Students Federation (ISF). "That is why the anti-imperialist struggle by the progressive youth and students movement has our unshakable solidarity.

"The peace proposals by the Soviet Union, GDR, and other countries of the socialist community of states offer real and reasonable opportunities on the road to disarmament and detente. We want a Europe and a world free from nuclear mass destruction weapons, without chemical weapons, a world in which states and peoples coexist peacefully and can work together," the message says.

"Since the 13th ISF Congress, which was held in the GDR capital Berlin, the progressive student organizations have made an important contribution with the worldwide campaign "Students for Disarmament" in the peoples' struggle to preserve and secure peace, and the arms race and for disarmament. The youth and students of the whole world cannot be ignored as they raise their voices against the peace-threatening arms buildup and confrontation policy of the United States and its NATO allies," says the greetings address.

The preparations for the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow in 1985 will unite even more young people in the struggle for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace, and friendship.

SED SENDS MESSAGE TO HONDURAN CP ON ANNIVERSARY

AU111044 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Apr 84 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has sent the following greetings message, signed by its general secretary, Erich Honecker, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras:

Dear comrades, the SED Central Committee conveys most cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings to all Honduran Communists on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of Honduras.

In the 30 years of its existence the Communist Party of Honduras has stood its test in the struggle against imperialist domination and domestic oligarchy as a consistent fighter for the interests of the workers class and the entire working people, as pioneer of the unity of all democratic forces of your country.

At a time when U.S. imperialism is escalating the armament and confrontation course, is further aggravating the aggression policy against the peoples of Central America in a particularly dangerous way, your party is in active solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador and is making an important contribution to resolutely opposing the attempt to include Honduras in the aggressive plans of imperialism.

We note with satisfaction that close, friendly relations have developed between the SED and the Communist Party of Honduras, which are based on the tested principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We wish your party success in the struggle for our common communist cause. We assure you of the close solidarity of the GDR communists also in the future.

CHURCH SUPPORTS MILITARY CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

LD112206 Hamburg DPA in German 1733 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Potsdam, 11 Apr (DPA) -- The Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg has affirmed its support for the right to conscientious objection to military service in the GDR. It also wants to look after people who are serving in construction units in the Armed Forces. At the end of its 5-day meeting in Potsdam, the synod today adopted the relevant statement by General Superintendent Guenter Krusche, East Berlin, as a resolution to be used by the congregation in their talks about peace. Krusche told the synod that the church respects and appreciates the individual conscience and sees conscientious objection to military service as a "sign pointing to a world without weapons." "Nor do we wish to exclude from our intercession Christians who perform their service in the National People's Army."

In another resolution, the synod said that it continues to reject "the spirit and logic of the arms race" even after the deployment of new missiles on GDR territory. The church supports GDR efforts to safeguard peace, "but we regard the maintenance of a nuclear balance on a higher level as an unsuitable way of stabilizing security." Krusche stated that the church as an ecumenical community could not adopt a "party, class-based position." He had gained the impression that the state has increasingly understood this point in its talks with the church. The church "independently and critically" supports all GDR measures to further peace. The introduction of a civilian alternative to military service could not at present be discussed in the GDR. On this issue, the church feels very close to the churches in Switzerland, where there is no alternative to military service.

The synod discussed the growing number of pastors, church officials, and members who are applying for permission to emigrate. The synod did not pass a resolution on this topic but remitted it to the governing board with a request that it should address a pastoral letter to the congregations. The paper called on congregations and their officials to accept and affirm their mission as Christians in their country.

The efforts over 5 years to unite the eight evangelical territorial churches and the three church unions in the GDR have failed for the time being. A resolution submitted by the church governing board, which summed up the results of talks and further steps, failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority at the synod. The other territorial churches had ratified the resolution.

FELFE BRIEFS RCP GROUP ON PEACE, AGRICULTURE

AU091354 East Berlin NEUES DUETSCHLAND in German 7/8 Apr 84 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received on Friday [6 April] a delegation of the RCP Central Committee headed by Mihail Clim, member of the Central Committee and secretary of the RCP Suceava County leadership, which is visiting the GDR. In the course of the friendly discussion, Werner Felfe briefed the Romanian guests on the implementation of the decisions of the 10th congress and of the consistent policy of the SED to preserve peace and to reject the intensive armament of the imperialists and their confrontation policy. He discussed the tasks to successfully implement the SED agricultural policy and stressed that in preparation for the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the working people in all fields of the national economy are contributing comprehensive initiatives to strengthening the GDR as a firm link in the community of socialist states. The meeting was attended by Helmut Semmelmann, head of the Agricultural Department of the Central Committee, and by Gheorghe Tache, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the GDR.

ACZEL, FINNISH PRESIDENT HOLD TALKS IN HELSINKI

LD112037 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Mauno Koivisto, Finnish head of state, has received Gyorgy Aczel, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. At their meeting, held in a cordial atmosphere, the situation in Europe was reviewed, and opinions exchanged on opportunities for the expansion of Hungarian-Finnish relations.

Gyorgy Aczel is visiting Helsinki following a joint invitation from the Finnish Communist Party and the Finnish Social Democratic Party.

FIRST VISIT BY ITALIAN PREMIER IN 50 YEARS

Predeparture Interview

LD101959 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Apr 84

[Text] Tomorrow, Bettino Craxi, prime minister of the Republic of Italy will arrive in Hungary for an official visit, at the invitation of Premier Gyorgy Lazar. The Italian Prime Minister gave an interview to (Peter Zentay), who represents this "newsreel" program.

[Begin recording] [Craxi in Italian, with superimposed Hungarian translation] I would like to say I am very happy with my coming visit to Hungary for several reasons: Firstly, no Italian prime minister has visited Hungary for a very long time.

[Zentay] Why is that?

[Craxi] I do not know why, but it is a fact that I will be the first for 50 years -- more than 50 years. Therefore, it is high time I visited Hungary, especially since we have always considered Hungary to be a friend of ours, a friend with which we have historical ties. I am also looking forward to the visit as a private citizen, as I have never been to Hungary. I do not know Hungary, except for what travellers have told me and what is written about it in books. Through Hungarian literature, which I consider valuable, I know of Hungarian reality. In the current situation keeping open the road leading to East-West dialogue may hold great benefits. This is how it can become clear for everyone that we want to live in peace with all countries, among them those whose social system -- due to historical reasons -- differs from ours. Finally, I also wish to travel to your country because I believe that progress can be made, both in the economic and cultural fields, within the framework of developing relations between the two countries.

[Zentay] Yet relations between Italy and Hungary do not appear to have shown any spectacular development. Is it among your intentions to give new impetus to cooperation?

[Craxi] Trade between the two countries is reasonably well developed. The economic relationship, from the Hungarian point of view is unequivocally positive. The balance of bilateral trade favors Hungary. Of course, ties can be further expanded. We would welcome this, but the possibilities have to be examined in a positive manner.

[Zentay] Do you have any proposals, perhaps?

[Craxi] I know that the Hungarian Government has new proposals; we are studying these now -- how they could be realized.

The two governments could give an impetus to relations. After that it is up to the experts to use the new possibilities for practical purposes. Certainly we can do more than we have done so far. We are certain to be successful in outlining those areas -- with joint effort -- where further mutual advantages are lying undiscovered. [end recording]

Missile Comments Allegedly Cut

AU120852 Rome ANSA in English 0840 GMT 12 Apr 84

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, April 12 -- Unconfirmed reports of cuts made in the Hungarian television broadcast of statements made on medium-range missiles in Europe by Italian Premier Bettino Craxi, aired on the eve of his arrival in Budapest last night, have been neither confirmed nor denied by the premier's office here.

Two of the premier's remarks critical of the Soviet Union were said to have been beeped out during the Hungarian television broadcast of the interview Tuesday evening.

The first line reportedly missing, according to the complete text of the interview released Wednesday by the premier's office, came when Craxi affirmed that: "If they had not first installed the missiles which were installed, we would not have had the problem of a counter-installation", in response to the interviewer's question on the Soviet and Eastern European criticism of nuclear missile deployment in Europe.

The second remark in question was pronounced when the premier was coping with criticism concerning "a part of the Italian people opposed to the installation of cruise missiles" in Italy. In the official text, Craxi was quoted as having said: "If there were a bit more freedom in the Soviet Union, also Soviet citizens would probably protest the installation of Soviet missiles".

Lazar Interviewed

AU111544 Rome ANSA in English 1525 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] (ANSA) Rome April 11 -- All international relations that promote dialogue and greater understanding of respective positions can directly or indirectly help restore confidence between East and West, but useful as these talks can be they cannot replace Soviet-American negotiations, according to Hungarian Minister [title as received] Gyorgy Lazar.

In an interview to the Rome daily IL TEMPO, Lazar said that Soviet officials, and Kremlin leader Konstantin Chernenko just recently, have clearly laid out the conditions for a resumption of the Geneva talks. "We, like the other Warsaw Pact members, fully support the position of the Soviet Union", he said.

As to the escalation of nuclear missile installation in Europe, Lazar said that as a result of the start of the installation of medium-range American nuclear missiles, the Warsaw Pact states had been forced to take countermeasures to maintain a military balance. However, the socialist states, as is shown by their latest proposals, are ready to reduce the level of military confrontation, he claimed.

The Lazar interview was published today in conjunction with the arrival in Budapest of Italian Premier Bettino Craxi.

Welcomed by Lazar, Varkonyi

LD112047 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Excerpts] Bettino Craxi has arrived in our country. Peter Zentai reports from Ferihegy Airport:

The special military plane carrying the Italian prime minister landed here 1 and 1/4 hours ago. Bettino Craxi and his wife, as well as foreign minister Giulio Andreotti, were greeted first by Gyorgy Lazar, head of government, and his wife. Also present to welcome the guests were, among others, Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs; Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education; our country's ambassador to Rome; and Italy's ambassador to Budapest.

Hungarian-Italian talks will start tomorrow. Primarily, bilateral relations will be discussed, while opportunities for expanding economic and cultural cooperation will also be examined. With regard to international issues, I might quote the words of Prime Minister Craxi: The fate of Europe or the world is not decided in Rome or in Budapest, but the fact that both the Hungarian and the Italian governments want peace and to promote East-West dialogue, has importance.

GASPAR OPENS WFTU BUREAU MEETING IN PARIS

LD092013 Budapest MTI in English 1758 GMT 9 Apr 84

[Text] Paris, April 9 (MTI) -- Sandor Gaspar, president of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and president of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT), opened the 31st session of the WFTU bureau in Paris today. The general council coopted Lajos Mehes, SZOT secretary-general, as member.

Comments on Meeting

LD112345 Budapest MTI in English 1750 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Paris, April 11 (MTI) -- From our correspondent, Janos Dobsa: The bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) adopted several resolutions and wound up its 31st meeting in Paris Wednesday afternoon.

Speaking at a press conference on Wednesday, Sandor Gaspar, president of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions and of WFTU, said the federation's effort to promote the joint action of trade unions of differing orientation to protect peace and security, an issue that affects all working people in the world, was a major item of discussion.

Sandor Gaspar added that although all-European trade union conferences are not held, WFTU maintains bilateral contacts with trade unions affiliated with other trade union federations. WFTU's motivation in encouraging unity is not to increase its ideological influence but to help trade unions carry out basic functions and better serve workers' interests.

SZUROS ON WORLD SITUATION, FRIENDSHIP WITH USSR

AU081930 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Apr 84 pp 3-4

[Interview given by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, to Joszef Szaszi; date and place not given; first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] Military confrontation and political tension on our continent intensified at the end of last year, following the beginning of the deployment of the so-called Euromissiles. At the same time, in an international situation that has become more dangerous, diplomatic activity and the quest for opportunities for East-West contacts have also become noticeably enhanced. What role has our country assumed in promoting the policy of detente and dialogue? What ensures the consonance of the common objectives and national interests of the socialist countries? These issues were discussed with Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Jozsef Szaszi, our newspaper's deputy editor-in-chief.

Szaszi: 1. A note of concern rather than hope can be sensed in writings that analyzed the international situation in recent months. The arms race has entered an even more dangerous phase, Soviet-U.S. relations have further deteriorated, and new crisis spots have appeared on the map of the world. In this situation, can we speak at all of prospects for and a future of detente?

Szuros: The events of the past years and primarily those of recent months have made our public worry, and for good reason. The detente process that began in the second half of the sixties, whose advantages were felt not only by all the peoples and countries of Europe, but a whole number of other countries of the world as well, has come to a halt, and international tension has become increasingly stronger. The beginning of the deployment of the so-called Euromissiles at the end of last year constituted another new unfavorable development in East-West relations. The imperialist endeavors that began in the second half of the seventies, which question the political-military balance of power that has historically developed are the fundamental causes for all this.

In the spirit of these unrealistic objectives, NATO has initiated a new round of the arms race, more dangerous than any before. As is known, it was decided to accelerate the pace of NATO's armament in May 1978 and to deploy U.S. missiles in Western Europe at the end of 1979. The United States, the leading power of the Western alliance system, has succeeded in forcing its will upon its allies and, through the missile deployment, it has enhanced Western Europe's dependence concerning security policy.

Of course, the appearance of new thermonuclear weapons in Europe has not only enhanced the military confrontation, but it has increased political tension and further undermined trust as well. As a direct effect of the beginning of the deployment, the Soviet-U.S. talks conducted on this issue in Geneva have lost their original meaning and have broken down. The American step had a negative impact on other negotiations in progress between the two great powers and two alliance systems as well. The START talks have been suspended, and the talks under way in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe were also interrupted from the end of last year until March this year. Thus, a situation has developed where practically not a single essential disarmament forum was functioning.

At the same time, not only have these events prompted socialist foreign policy to intensify its activity in the defense of peace and mobilized the masses opposing armament for action, but they have also made sober-minded and responsible leading Western European political circles realize the dangers. It is due to this realization that, although with differing intensity and interest, the Western European countries are also seeking opportunities for a dialogue. One could cite numerous examples for proving how much brisker diplomatic activity has become in Europe in recent months. Let me note the series of meetings in Moscow on the occasion of Yuriy Andropov's funeral, including the discussions between Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl, the talks of Hans-Jochen Vogel, head of the West German opposition Social Democrats, the visit of Canadian Prime Minister Pierre-Elliott Trudeau to Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the GDR, or, for that matter, Margaret Thatcher's talks in Budapest.

Of course, these meetings cannot make one forget the fact that Soviet-U.S. relations, which decisively affect East-West relations, have reached a low point because of the beginning of the deployment. Resumption of the dialogue between the two great powers would be an essential prerequisite for alleviating tension. Realizing this, Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other Soviet leaders have made it known on several occasions in the recent period that the Soviet Union is prepared to engage in a constructive and substantive dialogue. However, it is indispensable for this that the other side should also give an indication of its willingness in this respect.

In a tone differing from the tone one has become accustomed to on his part, President Ronald Reagan spoke in a more conciliatory manner and with moderation about Soviet-U.S. relations and the East-West relationship alike in his State of the Union message and the speech he made prior to the beginning of the Stockholm conference. This change of tone can be interpreted in more ways than one. It can be taken so that it reflects merely election considerations. However, it may also be an expression of the fact that those who guide U.S. policy are paying more attention to the views of the more realistic circles of their own country and the criticism of their Western European allies, which became particularly strong following the Grenada action.

We are of the opinion that deeds provide the real key to the interpretation of words. If they really think in all sincerity that all the recent formulations in the speeches of their leading politicians in the United States express an intention to come to terms, then this must manifest itself in deeds as well.

Among the positive signs, we can list the work of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The opening session with the participation of foreign ministers, the large number of bilateral discussions, and the activity of the conference to date are of particularly great political significance in the present situation. Beyond the fact that Stockholm has become the forum and symbol of a resumption of the East-West dialogue, we must bear in mind that this is the first time there has been such an extensive Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament issues between the countries of the two world systems. The Swedish capital provided an opportunity for talks between the Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers and, among other things, for the agrement which resulted in the Vienna talks continuing in the middle of March.

Of course, we look with proper realism upon the Stockholm conference; we expect a protracted discussion. We also know that the dialogue in progress there cannot be a substitute for the Soviet-U.S. talks. At the same time, the success of the conference's work may contribute to an improvement of the general international atmosphere.

Summing things up, my answer to the question is that, although the situation has become tense and the level of mutual threat has risen, there is no direct danger of war. A military balance of power, which is of fundamental importance from the viewpoint of avoiding a war, prevails unchanged, and the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are indeed doing everything to preserve it. Even today, the decisive majority of the bilateral and multilateral agreements that laid the foundations for the development of mutually beneficial relations between the socialist and capitalist countries in the years of detente are still in effect and having a favorable impact. We profess that the historical competition between the two world systems must be waged by peaceful means, in the economic and cultural spheres, in order to create more humane living conditions. We are of the opinion that there is not a single disputed international problem of our age that could not be resolved on the basis of a mutual consideration of interests and the assertion of the principle of equal security. This is supported by the socialist countries' consistent peace policy and the confirmation of international public opinion, which manifests itself day after day, that it wants peace. Also, on the other side, however, more and more responsible politicians profess the conviction that there can be no winners of a nuclear conflict. Thus, we are not being optimistic, but simply realistic in believing that the other side also realizes that there is no reasonable alternative to peace and peaceful coexistence.

Szaszi: 2. Even in a very recent history, the European Continent has occupied a particularly important place in world affairs. It was the starting point of world wars and it became the cradle of the policy of detente in the seventies. Can one expect our continent to once more become the initiator of the development of an international climate in which elements of detente play the decisive role?

Szuros: Europe is one of the ancient centers of human civilization. The political and economic developments taking place here have always made their effect strongly felt in other areas of the world as well. This also applies to the process known as detente, which began on our continent.

In a particular way, the explanation for the fact that the idea of the peaceful cooperation and coexistence of countries with different social systems became practice here in the seventies can be found precisely in the upheavals of European history and the two world wars starting from here, because Europe has suffered and lost more in the two world catastrophes over three decades than other continents in centuries.

However, it was not the bitter historical lesson that prevailed in the spring of 1945 in Europe, which was for the most part in ruins, but the advent of a period of cold war, which more than once threatened to turn into a "hot war." Only after 2 decades of estrangement and confrontation policy did the Western governments reach the stage of realizing that the cold-war line had failed, that they could not deter the socialist countries from their self-chosen path. With certain pangs of self-criticism, Westerners themselves named this realization a realistic policy. Acknowledgement of the realities meant, among other things, that the dangerous and futile confrontation necessarily had to be replaced by a normalization of the East-West system of relations, by the process that was later named detente. This also reflected the realization and acceptance of the fact that a global balance of power had developed between the two world systems and military alliance. The path to Helsinki was logical, but difficult. The conference on security and cooperation in Europe held in the Finnish capital in 1975 constituted a milestone in the history of Europe.

There are several reasons for the fact that detente has stopped. I regard as the most fundamental of them the fact that political detente was not followed by a military detente, by a reduction of armaments. The world economic crisis raised the issue of the faltering of its leading economic role even more sharply for the United States; therefore, it has done and is doing everything possible to curb the development of Western Europe and Japan by economic and military means. It observed with mistrust the political processes, which were unfavorable for it, in the progress in the developing world. The American responses to the aforementioned phenomena had, in the last analysis, slowed the detente processes and strengthened elements of confrontation.

As far as the future is concerned, it is certain that Europe will remain the initiator and continuer of the policy of detente. This conclusion is based on mutual interest and interdependence. Most of the socialist countries pursuing a policy of peace are European countries, and they are actively engaged in consolidating the security of the continent. Numerous political forces support the preservation of the achievements of detente in the West as well: Most parties of the Socialist International, the leftist forces, and the peace forces alike take up cudgel for a peaceful Europe free of warlike dangers; efforts are being made toward this end by soberly thinking, middle-class, realistic politicians as well.

Through their dialogue and constructive relations, the small- and medium-size European countries belonging to the two alliance systems can exert a favorable impact on the international atmosphere, in which several opportunities could arise also for improving relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, which decisively influence the fate of detente.

In the sixties, General de Gaulle expressed in three words the essence of Soviet-French relations and, in a broader sense, East-West relations: "detente, entente, cooperation," that is, detente, understanding, and cooperation. Our opinion is that these principles remain valid and unchanged, today as well, that, indeed, the present dangerous situation even enhances the need for asserting them, for detente is an objective necessity for both East and West that is dictated by the fundamental interests of mankind, because capitalism and socialism will exist alongside each other for a long time to come.

Szaszi: 3. At the Prague session of the Political Consultative Committee last January and also since then, the Warsaw Pact countries have submitted numerous highly significant proposals to the Western side. As part of the socialist countries' coordinated foreign policy, how and to what extent can Hungarian foreign policy contribute to the realization of common objectives?

Szuros: As is known, these proposals are aimed at limiting mass destruction devices, nuclear and conventional weapons, lowering the level of military confrontation, and promoting comprehensive agreements which, by creating certain guarantees and strengthening mutual trust, would contribute to the alleviation of international tension. This would be served, for instance, if, in accordance with a proposal of the Warsaw Pact countries, the two military alliances would conclude an agreement on renouncing the use of military force and pursuing peaceful relations. With international legal validity and in a specific form, such an agreement would confirm the principles laid down in a general form and as a recommendation in the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act.

Of course, as a member of the Warsaw Pact organization, our country is a participant in the elaboration of these proposals, and Hungarian foreign policy assumes an active role in representing the joint initiatives and in getting them accepted.

At international forums and within the framework of our bilateral relations alike, we strive to make the NATO members and other countries understand that a sincere will to live in peace and a responsibility for the future of mankind dictate these proposals. The socialist countries do not strive for military advantages and are not interested in wasting their material resources, which are currently meager, in any case, in view of their large-scale social objectives, on armament. Their proposals are not detrimental to the interests either of the Western system of alliance as a whole, or those of its individual members; on the contrary, the proposals, consistent with the requirement of equal security and creating a stable and predictable international environment, would serve the good of all peoples irrespective of social system.

When we represent the joint initiative of socialist foreign policy coordinated within the framework of the Warsaw Pact organization, we do so with the conviction that only thus can we promote the prevalence of our people's most fundamental national interests. The lessons of our tempestuous history, our geographical position, and our endowments alike caution us that only amid peaceful and secure international conditions and only if we also take advantage of the opportunities inherent in extensive and mutually beneficial relations between countries with different social systems can we attain the objectives of our economic-social constructive work. That is why we are convinced supporters of a dialogue, substantive negotiations, and just and fair agreements.

Of course, the alliance system of the socialist countries does not hinder any member from contributing with individual initiatives to strengthening peace and security and developing the policy of peaceful coexistence. During the past years, Hungarian foreign policy has also taken such steps towards promoting the common goals and asserting our people's national interests.

We have always reacted with constructive intentions on our part to those proposals made by the leading politicians of NATO members or neutral capitalist countries, which, in our view, can contribute to the decrease of European and worldwide tension and to strengthening confidence. Unfortunately, we have experienced a less positive approach to our own initiatives. We have been, and are supporting proposals concerning the establishment of nuclear-free zones in different areas of Europe, and we are prepared to thoroughly study the possibilities for enlarging and possibly linking these proposals. On Hungary's part, there have been several proposals drafted, even at the highest levels, which called for a ban on the deployment of nuclear weapons in countries where such weapons are not yet in operation, and to refrain from increasing the number of these weapons in the countries where such installations already exist. Unfortunately, this did not find response with the NATO side, and as a result of the start of the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the issue has considerably lost its topicality. It is also noteworthy that our country has repeatedly expressed its readiness to join the Vienna talks as a full-fledged participant if Italy were to act likewise. Our initiative did not receive positive response; on the contrary, in the meantime, the possibilities of its implementation have only deteriorated.

Our country took an active part in the development of the Helsinki process, and made several initiatives for the full implementation of the ideals and proposals formulated in the Final Act. It is worth recalling that we presented 18 capitalist countries with concrete proposals embracing all areas of relations from economic cooperation to exchange of information. We made a whole range of unilateral concessions in order to facilitate relations among people, and the development of tourism. We worked out a proposal for the promotion of instruction in minority languages and the propagation of the literature of the minorities.

The fact that, as part of the program adopted at the Madrid conference concluded in September 1983, the organization of the European Cultural Forum will take place in Budapest in the fall of 1985, shows the appreciation of our activity in this direction and, at the same time, ensures further possibilities for our contribution to the development of European cooperation.

A good opportunity for representing the common goals and harmonized efforts of socialist foreign policy were also given by those high-level meetings that took place between our country and several developed capitalist countries in the past months. The exchange of views on international issues is useful because it facilitates a more thorough knowledge of each other's position, a better understanding, the clearing up of intentions, and it can thus contribute to confidence building and the creating of the necessary atmosphere for negotiations and agreements. The development of bilateral relations between certain socialist and capitalist countries serves not only the interests of the two peoples, but it also has a beneficial influence, as part of East-West relations, on the international situation as a whole.

In our experience, this foreign policy activity, which, in the framework of both common position and individual initiatives serves the interest of the same goals and the cause of strengthening peace and understanding among people has further strengthened Hungary's international prestige in the last few years. As a result of our unamibiguous positions, and our behavior, firm determination, and intention for agreement, we are considered as reliable ally, friend, and fair partner.

Szaszi: 4. Hungarian foreign policy -- as we stress in both bilateral diplomatic contacts and international forums -- is a peace policy which is both a class policy and national policy at the same time. What guarantees the harmony of common goals and national interests in the framework of the network of the socialist countries' relations bearing in mind the very great variety of ways and different possibilities for these countries to build their relations?

Szuros: The possibility of harmony between the common goals and national interests in the activity of socialist foreign policy is objectively created by the current relations between them. That is, only such an interpretation of the common goals can answer the current requirements and the current phase of socialist development, including the most basic national interests of the cooperating socialist countries and the efforts towards the creation of international conditions necessary for their implementation. The steps taken in order to achieve common goals are joint or harmonized, but individual foreign policy measures thus cannot find themselves at odds with the real national interests. On the contrary, they facilitate the implementation of these interests. This is, of course, only a general possibility for harmony, which must be ensured by deliberate, synchronizing activity in each concrete case. As it is well-known, the common foreign policy goals are formulated within the framework of the Warsaw Pact organization. The member countries, by coordinating their interests, exploiting their experiences, and taking into consideration, of course, the international realities, jointly decide upon both long-term goals, which are basically derived from our social system and ideology, and the immediate concrete tasks. This is the way, therefore, that the positions of the Warsaw Pact are shaped, as are those initiatives and proposals whose implementation all the member countries are interested in.

The coordination of national and common interests in the area of the economy, too, takes place in a similar way, within the framework of CEMA.

This has never been an easy process, and in our days, due to the well-known economic difficulties of the CEMA countries -- which are deepened by the objective difficulties imposed by developments and the mistakes and errors here and there on the way, as well as the problems of the world economy -- all these require an even more careful consideration.

Concerning the multitude of variations, it does not, of course, facilitate coordination of interests, but does not make it impossible, either.

The increase in multifacetedness, the increasing variety of concrete forms and methods, in addition to the basic similarities, are natural results, in our view, of the internal development and international spread of the socialist society. It is an undeniable fact that the current difficulties, the increased efforts to solve them, and the search for methods in connection with this, are also characterized by manifoldness. However, at the same time, in our experience, another fact is perceptable too, namely that the parties of the socialist countries are not only showing a better understanding for each other's individual solutions than before, but they also pay more attention to the adoption of useful experiences.

Concerning the different possibilities of building relations, it is a fact that, in connection with historical limits and the current endowments, the different capitalist countries show interest of different intensity towards certain socialist countries. Austria, Finland, or the FRG, for instance, show more interest and are more active in Hungary than several other socialist countries. However, this is not a special privilege of ours, since the same particular attention is experienced by Bulgaria on the part of her two neighbors in the Balkans, Turkey and Greece, or Cuba on the part of Spain, and the GDR on the part of the FRG. This works the other way around, as well. It is not only our conviction, but also our experience that these individual possibilities can be exploited for the cause of common goals along with the implementation of national interests.

It is well-known that top level meetings took place last year between Hungary and the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, CSSR, Poland, and the GDR. These meetings, as well as the Warsaw Pact and CEMA meetings, and the consultations held in the framework of multifaceted ideological cooperation, have repeatedly proven to us that, like our country, all our socialist friends regard as an issue of fundamental importance the strengthening of the alliance system, enlarging the bilateral and multilateral relations, and increasing their efficiency, so that the cooperation simultaneously serves the achievement of common goals and the earliest possible solution of internal tasks.

Szaszi: 5. Today, on the anniversary of our liberation, we fittingly appreciate the positive role decisive for our history, which the Soviet Union played in our liberation from fascism and in creating the political and economic conditions for our several decades of balanced development. How do you see the prospects for further development of Hungarian-Soviet relations embracing all walks of life?

Szuros: Our relations with the Soviet Union represent the most important international support for our independence, sovereignty, and social progress. Originating from this is our basic position that the constant development of Hungarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation is an important principle and practice for us.

The multifaceted Hungarian-Soviet cooperation is founded on a firm, historically justified, ideological basis. Our relations are constantly developing in all areas, free of boom and bust fluctuation considerations. The mutual trust on the part of the two countries' leaders and people is the basis for the continuity and renewal of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation. The open, direct internationalist relations between the MSZMP and the CPSU is of crucial importance in our political contacts. Economic relations are developing on mutually advantageous bases while, as a result of the different size of the two national economies and the magnitude of relations, Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation is of fundamental importance for our country.

This is also expressed by the statistics, since one third of our entire foreign trade and more than half of our foreign trade with the socialist countries, is with the Soviet Union.

Concerning the future, we can say that the possibilities for further development are considerable in spite of the great magnitude of relations embracing a wide range in almost all walks of life. Since there will, of course, already be limited possibilities in the future for the extensive development of relations between the two countries, both sides will have to seek new, qualitative ways of progress and the more efficient utilization of existing reserves.

In this connection, I believe that one of the most important tasks in the coming period is an even deeper study of each other's achievements and experiences, and the practical utilization of mutually exploitable solutions. The dynamic development of Hungarian-Soviet relations in the past years could be basically ensured because our party and state leaders dealt with benevolent understanding and mutually increased attention with each other's particularities, and the different methods for solutions developed during socialist construction. It can be concluded without exaggeration that this striving for mutual respect and understanding has become the norms of Hungarian-Soviet relations and the guarantee for their further development.

In connection with today's festive remembrance, I would like to stress that the social basis of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation is increasingly expanding. The will of the two countries' people and their sincere interest in each other is expressed by the development and deepening of relations between public organizations. The fostering of relations with the Soviet Union in Hungary, based on equal rights, internationalism, and reciprocity, is an organic part of our socialist national common consent. The fact that an increasingly more efficient and resolute cooperation exists in the society of the two countries, guarantees a firm basis for the development of Hungarian-Soviet relations and for solving our common tasks.

ROUND TABLE ON CONTRIBUTION TO USSR FOOD PROGRAM

AU100920 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 4 April on page 7 carries a 2,750-word interview given by Ferenc Bartha, head of the International Economic Relations Secretariat; Janos Boros, director of the Food Industry Machine Factory and Assembly Enterprise; Gabor Andras and Istvan Kortvelyes, deputy ministers of industry; Istvan Kuczik, director of the Kecskemet Agricultural Machinery Trust; Gabor Nagy, deputy director general of the Babolna agricultural combine; Laszlo Papocsi, deputy minister of agriculture; and Bela Szoke, director general of the Southern Hungary chemical plant, to Katalin Bossanyi, entitled "Round Table on Hungarian Participation in the Soviet Food Program." The date and place of the "round table" are not given.

The topic of discussion is the results achieved by Hungary in exporting foodstuffs, machinery, and chemicals to the USSR, and its increased participation in the USSR's Food Program.

On the question of "to what extent have exports to date created favorable conditions for the increase in cooperation," Ferenc Bartha says that "in our foreign economic policy, the increase of mutually favorable exports and Hungarian-Soviet technical-scientific cooperation as well as the strengthening of cooperation and specialization have been, and will be in the future as well, of central importance." He adds that "the Soviet Food Program represents both new possibilities and a challenge both in technical development and readiness for innovation and adaptability in order to cope with Soviet requirements, which are rapidly changing and which represent a huge market. Our previous exports have created a good reputation for all of this. However, in the same way that the Soviet partners are accelerating, we must adapt ourselves accordingly and with the same flexibility to the requirements which are changing in number and structure.

Laszlo Papocsi presents some figures concerning the direct export of goods to the Soviet market: "A yearly export of 350 thousand metric tons of canned vegetables, 300 thousand metric tons of apples, 1.5 thousand hectoliters of wine, 22 thousand metric tons of poultry, and 110 million eggs. In addition to this, in the framework of a separate agreement we also export wheat and meat, and their increase, in exchange for suitable counter exports, continues to be in our interest."

He continues, noting that the Soviet Food Program has contributed to the fact that Hungarian exports are influenced by two factors, namely: "In the Soviet Union they have become more demanding from the point of view of quality and consumer appeal, and we must seek a long-term solution so we can jointly exploit domestic experiences in the Soviet Food Program and find the proper possibilities of adapting the Hungarian production system to the Soviet conditions." Papocsi then stresses the necessity of "a united and coordinated appearance on the markets of all the branches."

Bartha then says that "considering our endowments and our capacities developed to date, we made our suggestions in time and with the proper intensity regarding the possibilities of our contribution to the Soviet food and other programs. The other socialist countries did the same. Of course, everyone wishes to supply more and better products, primarily in the sphere of the current specialization. Thus, Bulgaria wishes to contribute, first of all, in enlarging vegetable and fruit production, the CSSR in the supply of small machines for household plots, and the GDR in machine production."

Gabor Nagy notes that there is a need to develop biotechnics and technology at an industrial level, since the experts have shown that "Soviet demands have changed not only quantitatively, but structurally in a very short time, and they require the most advanced technique and the most up-to-date solutions."

Regarding the question of Hungary's possibilities in the competition for the Soviet market of capitalist enterprises and CEMA countries, according to Papocsi, Hungary is in first place among the CEMA countries, and Gabor stresses that "our export of food industry machines to the Soviet Union this plan period will be worth R366 million."

As to the question of the current state of the Soviet-Hungarian agrochemical agreement for the years 1976-90, Istvan Kortvelyes says that "according to the agreement, the Hungarian chemical industry exports herbicides, pesticides, and antifungal chemicals for large-scale corn growing, and the growing of green peppers, tomatoes, and tobacco. In exchange, we receive synthetic nitrogen fertilizers as well as additive materials for the production of insecticides and plastics."

He adds that mutual exports increased in the first years of the eighties and in "1983 reached the R100-100 [as published] million level. This exchange of goods and division of labor is advantageous for us in the long-run as well.

Kortvelyes declares that Hungary occupies second place in world corn production per capita and the capacity for corn insecticides production is one of the highest due to the high export volume to the Soviet Union. Speaking about the possibilities for development, Kortvelyes says "we are examining how to increase both quantity and range, in addition to harmonizing research and development and joint research in the next years. In addition, we see great opportunities in enlarging the export of pharmaceutical products."

According to Bela Szoke, "from the enterprise point of view, Soviet exports of insecticides are an advantageous deal, even if we feel increasing competition from the capitalist firms in this field." This is so, he says, because the Soviet Union needs insecticides all year round because of its size, and not only for 1 month as is the case in Hungary. "Therefore we can export all year round and can continuously produce as there are no storage problems, either."

On Hungary's exports of agricultural and food industry machines, Janos Boros says that "we have been supplying the Soviet Union with cheese-manufacturing factories for 20 years; our 200 active factories produce 75 percent of Soviet capacity. In the coming years, we wish to participate above all in the modernization program. According to previous information, the requirements for this will be worth R100 million."

Boros adds that small bakeries are also needed by various industrial enterprises and that "we supply mostly as main technological contractors and thus involve many domestic partners in our export work. Unfortunately, the financing and storage problems involved with products that require a long production-installation time have not yet been solved by the banks, and this somewhat limits our flexibility."

On the same issue, Istvan Kuczik adds that "exports of canning machines increased tenfold during the last four decades. It seems that there is mainly a demand for our pea-, cucumber-, and tomato-processing lines in the Soviet Union. We would like to offer, in addition, machines for soil cultivation, harvesting, packaging, and storage handling." Kuczik speaks of the advantages of cooperation between different enterprises for successful export activity and adds that "we would also gladly supply machines for top soil cultivation and would take upon ourselves the mass-scale production of space parts and units."

Andras Gabor names different enterprises as good examples of cooperation and flexibility like "the Agricultural Machine Plant of Monor which quickly and successfully adopted a licence and has thus become competitive in the supply of complete poultry and hog slaughterhouses." According to him, preparations have been made for "greater mass production and export of fruit storage installations, and tube-manufacturing production lines and we have developed according to Soviet requirements installations for insecticides and related laboratory installations. The agriculture machine industry has advantageous offers of machines for grape and fruit cultivation."

Questioned about the current state of the export of agricultural systems, Gabor Nagy says that: "The Babolna Agricultural Combine has supplied the Soviet Union with four broiler-chicken processing systems to date, which were handed over ready for use. The deal was signed in 1977 and the plants have been producing successfully since 1982. Together with the breeding plant, their capacity is 150,000 metric tons a year." He cites examples of Hungarian participation in different parts of the Soviet Union and adds that Hungary expects to participate in the corn cultivation program where the systems of the Babolna and Nadudvar agricultural combines will be initially tried out; "the Hungarian partners will supply the seeds, technology, machines, and the continuous expert advice. This cooperation, however, is progressing more slowly than expected because of accounting problems."

According to Laszlo Papocsi, "the export of agricultural systems must be very thoroughly thought over as regards which particular parts of the results can be adopted in view of specific Soviet conditions, especially since expert offers were sought from us in six areas, among them, systems for the cultivation of green peas, green peppers, and mushrooms.

"Our partners consider this such a complex subject that they wish to receive everything from biological bases, through technology, up to processing and packaging, from one single source."

On the question of new possibilities, with many offers not being carried out, mainly because of arguments concerning the price, Ferenc Bartha says that: "The system of conditions for cooperation within CEMA is also changing, and we can mutually use one another's experiences in the systems of management and regulation." Bartha says that "in practice, an economic situation is more and more emerging among the member countries in which they considered the actual practical value of each product and its supply possibilities within CEMA." He suggests that the enterprises develop direct contacts that will enable better realization of cooperation and a quicker solution of controversial issues.

On the question of new possibilities for mutually advantageous exports in 1986-90, Andras Gabor mentions the possibility of participation in the modernization of 140 agriculture and food-industry machine-manufacturing plants, among other things. According to previous statistics, Hungary's direct and indirect exports to the Soviet food program could be "increased by more than 50 percent by 1990." Commenting on the issue, Ferenc Bartha stresses the need for cooperation in research, the development of the infrastructure, and the modernization of machinery system. According to Bartha, Hungary's participation in the Soviet Food Program represents a possibility for the development of cooperation and increase in the exchange of goods. He urges an above-average increase of exports in this area.

On the question of the current state of negotiations in this area, Bartha says that the top-level party and state meetings in 1983 concluded that there is a need for long-term agreements for the mutual development of cooperation in the agricultural industry. There are also consultations on plan coordination, and at the beginning of next year the planning offices of the two countries will work out proposals for additional steps, he adds.

INITIAL PROGRESS OF BOND SYSTEM PROMISING

LD101137 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 10 Apr 84

[Text] Budapest, April 10 (MTI) -- Companies and banks in Hungary have issued eight types of bonds, and appraising the results, the Central Statistical Office of Hungary states that initial signs are promising, and numerous more companies are expected to issue bonds that may ultimately lead to the emergence of a bonds market.

In 1981 local councils started selling 60 million forints worth of bonds to individuals on an experimental basis in ten countries and 62 per cent of them have been bought. The sum accrued has been used to build canals, roads, kindergartens, homes and expand old-age homes.

Regular issuance of bonds started in Hungary last year when the Presidential Council and the government decreed that councils, companies, cooperatives and banks may do so and in each case it must be transacted through a bank.

OKGT, the National Petroleum and Gas Corporation, acting in cooperation with the State Development Bank, was the first to issue bonds for corporate customers to the tune of 400 million forints. The bonds fetch an 11.5 per cent interest and will be repaid within ten years. (The Hungarian National Bank pays an interest rate of 11 per cent for companies that deposit money for not less than two years.)

Companies that buy such bonds enjoy priority in getting connection to the natural gas mains, a real benefit for companies using a great amount of petroleum.

To finance the purchase of computers, Comporgan joint enterprise has issued 100 million forints worth of bonds for corporate clients. Comporgan pays an annual 14 to 16 per cent interest and will repay the bonds within 14 years. Moreover, subscribers will be entitled to a 50 per cent rebate if they want to buy a computer. Voros Csillag cooperative farm of Nadudvar, eastern Hungary, has issued 180 million forints worth of bonds at an interest rate of 12 per cent and repayable within seven years, to finance the con construction of a granary.

The Hungarian post, in cooperation with the State Development Bank, has issued bonds, available for corporate buyers, to finance the expansion of the telephone network in the whole of the country (interest rate: 11.5 percent), while the telephone bonds issued at Szeged and environs (interest rate: 7 p.c.) are available both for companies, cooperatives and individuals. In the latter case subscribers are entitled to a telephone within three years.

A construction company of Kiskunhalas has issued bonds under similar conditions. The Pest County retail compnay for manufactured goods recently issued bonds at an interest rate of 11 per cent to be repaid within seven years. The bonds sold out within days.

The bonds business has, on the whole, both promising and unfavourable aspects. Last year a little less than 40 per cent of the bonds for individuals were subscribed. It is because, despite the fixed period of 5-10 years, interest rates are lower than those offered by the National Savings Bank (OTP) (OTP pays five per cent interest on deposits fixed for a year, six for two years, seven for three and nine for more than seven). Moreover, though the interest rate is low, the subscriber does not always get any special benefit like priority in telephone allotment.

Companies are readily available for issuing bonds but are less eager to buy them, which is indicative of a predilection for starting new projects and a shortage of finance. Companies in Hungary are little sensitive to differences in interest rates: The average proportion of profit as compared to capital is nine per cent. The bonds offered for them carry interest rates ranging from 11.5 to 16 per cent and they are still not attractive enough.

Bonds are a new form of rechannelling capital and initial signs are mixed. It is considered to float the interest rates of new bonds and establish a bonds market. [sentence as received] The State Development Bank is already available for mediating in bonds deals (for a fee) and any compnay or cooperative can decide to issue bonds or buy them.

BRIEFS

SYRIAN PARTY DELEGATION VISIT -- At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, a delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, led by Musa al-Karrad, member of the leadership of the Dar'a County party committee, visited Hungary from 22 to 30 March. The Syrian guests studied the Hungarian experiences in socialist industrial development and the questions of party guidance of industry. The delegation which was received by Laszlo Ballai, head of the economic policy department of the MSZP Central Committee, held talks with Bela Rabi, state secretary for industry, at the Tolna and Fejer County MSZMP Committee, the Budapest MSZMP Committee, the National Planning Office, and paid a visit to several industrial enterprises in the capital and in the province. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 March 84 p 6 AU]

JARUZELSKI INTERVIEWED ON U.S. RELATIONS

LD111631 Warsaw PAP in English 1441 GMT 11 Apr 84

["Jaruzelski Interviewed by CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR" -- PAP headline]

[Text] New York 11 April -- Answers by Prime Minister of the Government of the Polish People's Republic Gen. of Army Wojciech Jaruzelski to questions put by Mr. Eric Bourne, correspondent of the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR.

Question: Poland regards sanctions enforced against it as illegal. However, has the time not come when it is more important to consider the damage done by these sanctions, both to the Polish economy and to the bilateral relations with the United States? Is Poland prepared to take an initiative of its own to meet objections from the other side, if the other side (?shows) readiness for mutual accommodations? I have in mind for example, a question on which the U.S. Government frequently has expressed concern, ie. the problem of persons imprisoned.

Answer: Let us start with terminology. Sanctions in international relations can be instituted only by the United Nations Security Council in strictly specified cases, defined in Article 39 of the UN Charter. I would remind that due to the United States veto sanctions have never been applied with regard to e.g. the Republic of South Africa. Thus, the use of economic weapons by the Government of the United States against Poland in no way means sanctions, but unilateral restrictions inconsistent with the international law. Just recently an extensive publication came out entitled "The Policy of the United States of America With Regard to Poland in the Light of Facts and Documents (1980-1983)." It is a sort of unofficial white book of "biggest sins" committed by the United States against our country. You can find there, all the necessary, honestly documented information.

I agree with your view that today's abnormal relations are inconsistent with the interests of both countries, At the same time, the United States, as I have said it once, by "evacuating themselves" from Poland are losing more and more, whereas Poland, by employing its own reserves, by integrating herself tighter with the allies-- is losing less and less. It was not Poland to have led to such an abrupt deterioration of relations. It is not because of our intentions and acts that they have fallen to such a low level. Once, we approached with confidence the will of stabilized, long-term cooperation declared by the United States. Today, we have to pay a high price for such credulity. The Government of the United States by its instrumental treatment of Poland, by breaking of binding interstate agreements has inflicted and inflicts considerable harm to our country's economy, and thus, to the Polish people as well.

This has been clearly pointed out in the Polish Government's note of October 3, 1983.

This notwithstanding, we are able to see real -- not pretended -- positive facts. We feel traditional, friendly sentiments to the great American people. We are for normalization of relations. But the notion of normalization must find support in concrete moves, otherwise it would be just an empty phrase.

Life has its rights and this makes me confident that a realistic way of thinking will sooner or later prevail on the American side. But how can one speak about normalization of relations when all the basic restrictions against Poland still remain in force and official statements by representatives of the U.S. Administration are reaffirming this constantly. And only this really counts.

Poland is a sovereign country. The history, also that of the recent past, has taught us a painful lesson of caution. I have an impression that in Washington and in some other Western capitals they still count on Polish naivete or negligence. This is wrong thinking. There is but one Poland -- situated in the centre of Europe, socialist, allied with the Soviet Union and socialist states. Any calculations that any other Poland could be "imagined", or that it could be freely manipulated, are but an illusion. No foreign government has the right to interfere in our internal affairs. Putting forth of conditions, conditioning of economic and political contacts on these or other internal solutions in Poland is pointless. We firmly denounced such an interference in the past and we shall do so with equal firmness in future. Each time we hear lessons on human rights we think that it would be much better, much more moral to see to their realization in countries geographically and socio-politically closer to the United States.

As regards the question of persons deprived of liberty for offences committed against the state -- and such offences are also well known in the American law -- the provisions of the Polish law should and shall be binding here. We never wanted, and we do not want to have political prisoners. However, today social order, stabilization and national reconciliation are of particular importance for Poland. The persons, who both in the past and in the present opposed these goals, cannot and shall not be given opportunity for exercising destructive activity. The way in which this question will be solved lies not only in the interest of Poland.

Summing up this answer I am really surprised that it takes so long in Washington to realize total ineffectiveness of the policy of boycott and restrictions against Poland. It is also worth stressing that time does not play in favour of the United States.

Question: Mr Prime Minister, could a mutual agreement to restore diplomatic representations to ambassadorial level, become a first step towards exploring possible areas of relaxation helpful to normalization of relations?

Answer: Indeed it is hard to call the present state of affairs normal. But could one consider normal a situation, when one government, while maintaining diplomatic relations with another government, airs uninterruptedly, round-the-clock instigating broadcasts against that other government? When it spends millions of dollars for propaganda tuned at destabilization of a country, with regard to which it formally declared its sympathy? Not to mention falsifications, a frequently abusive language, as well as the use of American stations to broadcast instructions for antistate groups. We find it hard to believe that strengthening of the staffing of diplomatic missions can change all that. Protocol is important, but policy, economic relations, i.e. facts are more important. We would gladly let ourselves be convinced about the change of the U.S. Government's intentions with regard to Poland, if meaningful and measurable facts be created. Then, there will be no obstacles impeding the taking of also this step on the road towards the normalization of mutual relations.

Question: The new trade unions increase in numbers, but recent differences of view between them and the authorities suggest that the rapport between the unions and the government is still to be built. At the present juncture, can the unions be developed on an industry by industry, national basis to function as bona fide, independent partners for the authorities?

Answer: I am surprised at this question but at the same time glad. I am surprised, because so far in the United States opinions have been stubbornly disseminated that these trade unions were "government-controlled, regime-run", that they only deserved condemnation and boycott. Thus, I am glad that this question was asked, because it shows that the real importance and nature of the revived labour movement in Poland begins to be understood.

The fact is that trade unions are steadily growing. At present, they already affiliate over 4.3 million working people, i.e. a much higher proportion of the employed than in the United States, and also in France and many other Western countries. What is most characteristic is that these new, reborn unions unite representatives of all the previously functioning labour trends, most of them being former "Solidarity" members. It seems that little, or rather nothing at all is known about that in America. Information from Poland on that subject undergoes, as it seems, a very peculiar censorship.

The law on trade unions adopted one and a half years ago guarantees their independence and self-management, granting extensive rights, much broader than ever before in the Polish labour legislation.

In Poland, like in any other country, trade unions stand in protection of the material interests of the working people. We deem it natural. We consider labour movement an authentic, serious partner. Its growth at a national scale is a constant process we follow with satisfaction. Its pace even exceeds previous expectations.

Trade unions form an extremely important link of the socialist democracy. By their nature, they are a great school of civic education, and, at the same time, a constructive force that makes us sensitive to evil - since trade unions sooner than anybody else notice and signal the things disliked by the working class. This is the lesson we draw from the recent past.

It is obvious that differences of opinion do occur between the unions and administration. These differences are discussed by both sides with whole seriousness and responsibility. Unfortunately, not all the expectations of union members and working people can be met today due to the difficulties faced by Poland. Simply, you can divide as much as you produce. As far as I know, this truth is commonly known and applied in your country. Less known, however, is for example, a fact that there is no unemployment in Poland, and that the working people enjoy various social rights unknown in the USA, like free medical care, free education at all levles, and women are paid allowances throughout the whole 2-3 year-long maternity leaves.

Question: Offical youth organizations encounter difficulties in drawing young people into their activities. How do you intend Mr. Prime Minister, to overcome the indifference of a considerable part of Polish youth to politics?

Answer: A lot of simplified opinions seem to circulate on this subject. I think that the youth should not be treated as a uniform group isolated from the life of the entire society. Young people, like all Poles, have been deeply affected by the internal shocks our country suffered in the recent years. It takes time to regain full balance. Of course, there are also some specific youth problems. Differing reactions of the younger generation is a common universal, phenomenon. At the same time it is worth noting that apathy or nihilism, and the more so moral deformations, among young Poles are more marginal than in many Western societies. Our youth is patriotic and in its majority deeply committed to such ideals of socialism as social justice, the right of equal opportunites, the sense of responsibility for the motherland.

Poland simply needs the young, her hope and biggest reserve, but above all -- her future. It is the duty of the older generations and youth organizations to constantly implant this truth in the conscience of all the young people, to let it fully materialize in their deeds.

Question: Finally let me ask about the present international situation. Do you see a possibility of breaking the present deadlock in East-West relations in a foreseeable future?

Answer: I wish to begin with recalling the fact that our country lost over 6 million people and about 40 percent of its national wealth in World War 2. It took us a quarter of the century to recuperate from the heaviest wounds of the war. Demographic statistics indicate, that Polish families will feel the imprint of the war until the second decade of the next century. This is why the questions of war and peace have different, deeper significance in Poland than in many other countries, luckier in that respect.

Deterioration of international situation raises our obvious concern. The interests of Poland's national existence are inseparably linked with peaceful territorial and political order shaped in Europe in effect of World War 2. Thus, they are linked with the lasting nature of the military equilibrium, which for almost four decades has secured peace in the European Continent and which ten years ago made it possible to sign the CSCE Final Act. This balance has been undermined in effect of the known missile decisions of the United States. The siutaion is additionally aggravated and confidence undermined in effect of the known missile decisions of the United States. The situation is additionally aggravated and confidence undermined by the publicly voiced anti-communist crusade and confrontational doctrine. I wish not to comment on it here. I think that numerous literal quotations could as well make do for a best comment.

The East-West relations are in a deadlock, despite persistent and filled with good-will efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. I think, however, and our government expressed this on many occasions that there are still possibilities to break this deadlock and to move away from the standstill. But there is one condition on the meeting of which all progress depends. This is the principle of equal security of the parties concerned, preservation of balance in the military sphere, departure from the policy of destabilization and confrontation.

To this respect, Poland remains ready for constructive cooperation, in accordance with the time-honoured tradition of our active participation in solving international issues. I do not wish this sentence to sound banal. As an expert in Polish affairs you might wish, Mr Bourne, to remind your readers the history of the Rapacki Plan. How much more secure would Europe have been today, had that plan been implemented then. I would like to note that it was Poland to [as received] have been one of the initiators of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Our desire today, is to continue and develop commonly recognized role of Poland as a counting, credible partner.

We are aware that the difficulties presently suffered may sometimes raise doubts as to the role played by our country. This is a very short-sighted approach. Given our potentials and prospects we shall certainly overcome our present difficulties, regaining our due place both in the European policy and in the international division of labour. Poland is not a "transitional" creature. Poland is immortal. Transitional are only the present difficulties.

In connection with the publication by the Polish press of the full text of the interview by General Wojciech Jaruzelski for the American daily CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR it is necessary to stress that the text is full, because the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR's editorial board published the interview considerably abridged and interfered with the text. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1700 GMT on 11 April reports that the full text will be published in the 12 April press.] This has been done despite the bilateral agreement with Mr Eric Bourne, the daily's correspondent, who prior to obtaining the interview pledged he would publish its authorized text unabridged and without change.

Abridgment and lesser deletions testify to the fact that the editors wished not to publish some arguments by the Polish premier. Maybe they considered presenting them to the American reader inconvenient. For example words on the illegality of restrictions were censored.

Also tampered with was the general's remark that public opinion in the U.S. begins at last to understand the significance and character of new Polish trade unions. The daily did not publish the information that the percentage of people who belong to trade unions is higher in Poland than in the U.S.

The daily did not publish the excerpt where General Wojciech Jaruzelski said that information from Poland about a majority of the Polish labour movement's members being former "Solidarity" members, undergoes a very peculiar censorship in the U.S.

The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR deleted this part of General Jaruzelski's interview where (?he hinted) to a better, in some welfare respects, situation of working people in Poland than in the United States. Thus the information was censored that there is no unemployment in Poland, that medical care and education are free of charge. Apparently such truths are inconvenient. Censorship also affected the statement that apathy or nihilism, and the more so moral deformations among young Poles are more marginal than in many Western countries.

Also left out from the text were the words saying that the Poles' national interest is linked with the territorial and political order established in Europe after World War Two.

After General Wojciech Jaruzelski's interview was published newsmen asked spokesman of the Department of State in Washington, John Hughes about the reaction of the U.S. Government to its contents. The spokesman stated that the U.S. already takes concrete steps signifying the will to improve Polish-American relations. As is known these steps were (?a) sham. They did not (?confirm) the U.S. Government's (?general) will to lift restrictions and abandon the policy which is unfriendly towards Poland. The spokesman repeated the stand of the U.S. Government that linked the intention to improve relations with Poland with political conditions concerning Polish internal relations.

Thus the to-date [word indistinct] of defining the U.S. policy towards Poland has been maintained: One declares the will to improve relations but simultaneously one poses varying political conditions that interfere with the rights and issues of a sovereign state.

Our government has repeatedly rejected the illegal demands made to Poland and concerning the solving of our own issues according to wishes, conceptions and interests of the U.S. authorities.

The U.S. Government must (?know) [words indistinct] the explicit declarations made by the Polish authorities and, no doubt, from experience that the posing of these demands and tying to them the U.S. policy (?towards) Poland is not a way to improve relations. Neither the State Department spokesman's statement nor other statements by Washington administration officials enable Polish society and the authorities of People's Poland to know the answer to the question: Does the United States really intend to improve relations, or does it only want to talk of the improvement of relations?

BOOK ON U.S. POLICY OF RESTRICTIONS PUBLISHED

LD111618 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] PAP Warsaw 11 April -- The Polish Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Research on Contemporary Problems of Capitalism have published a volume of 270 pages entitled "The U.S. Policy Towards Poland in the Light of Facts and Documents (1980-1983)." The origin of this significant work is presented in the introduction to the publication:

Poland is coming out of the deep-running crisis owing to the strenuous, but ever more organized and effective efforts made by Polish society in all areas of public and economic life. This is accompanied by a critical process of revaluating the vast realms of socio-political life and of building economic mechanisms and political safeguards to prevent a reversion of the situation as it was before August 1980 as well as December 1981. The crisis deteriorated Poland's position and exposed to prejudice its national, political, economic and other interests. However, that happened not only as a result of the internal socio-political and economic crisis but also because the capitalist camp had exploited this crisis deliberately and manifoldly against the interests of Poland first of all, though also with the intent to erode the entire community of the socialist states.

The publication issued today focuses on the United States' policy vis a vis Poland in the years 1980-1983 because it is the United States that has pursued and is still pursuing an exceptionally aggressive policy course hitting out at the fundamental interests of Poland and offending Poles' sense of national dignity and sovereignty. Taking advantage of its superpower position, the United States has also masterminded unfriendly moves made by other NATO member states.

The volume is a documentary evidence of a significant charter in the history of relations between Poland and the United States. No matter what the future course of these relations will be -- and this depends primarily on further U.S. policy -- this chapter cannot be crossed out. This chapter, not only for Poles, will be still another contribution to the knowledge on the nature of U.S. imperialism. It will probably result in a profound and permanent violation or perhaps even collapse of many myths about America which still do exist in the consciousness of Polish society.

The publication presents detailed facts and documents about the U.S. policy toward Poland (or rather against Poland) over the past four years. As a result of this policy bilateral relations got to a critical point and there are no elements indicating, in a realistic way, any possibility of their significant improvement within a short time.

The volume recalls that the bad state of bilateral relations is nothing exceptional in the history of Polish-American contacts which were just as bad from the late 1940's to mid-1950's. this took place amid similar circumstances, that is conditions of cold war in the international situation, stemming from the U.S. aspiration to impose "pax Americana" on the world and the U.S. policy's active involvement in Poland's internal socio-political processes at that time. Trying to interfere in these processes, the United States employed a similar arsenal of means which the Ronald Reagan administration did use after December 13, 1981. The U.S.broke the treaty of 1931 then, which also caused Poland's loss of the most favoured nation clause and waged a propaganda aggression of a similar character like the present one.

It was noticeable already then that the Polish-U.S. relations were and are a function of much broader determinants. American politicians have several times publicly formulated doctrines determining the U.S. official policy and its attitude towards socialist countries, that is also towards Poland. A common denominator of all doctrines of "containment", "rolling-back", "liberating", "peaceful engagement", "bridge-building" and the Reagan "anti-communist crusade" was both anti-communism and an active aspiration to change the existing alignment of forces.

From the very beginning, Nixon's doctrine phrased "from confrontation to negotiations" was undermined by those who countered the policy of detente and were gathered in the U.S. military-industrial complex. Taking over power by the Reagan administration does not mean just a usual change of government. The centre of power has been shifted from the eastern coast, that is from financial and commercial establishment to the west-southern establishment representing precisely this military-industrial complex. A peaceful competition of the two systems which is the essence of the policy of detente proved unacceptable from many opponents of detente in the U.S.

A far-reaching goals of the policy pursued by the incumbent Reagan administration is to undermine the order which was established in Europe after World War Two, weaken the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty, break the military parity and finally restore the role of the first world super power to the United States. Means to achieve these goals include: the intensification of armaments, policy of force and confrontation, and sharp anti-communist crusade. The U.S. attitude towards developments in Poland should be viewed just from this perspective of global goals of the U.S. policy.

The volume is composed of eight basic chapters. The first one discusses Poland's socio-political position in the years 1980-1983. It presents the development of the crisis which had led to the necessity to introduce martial law and next depicts the normalization processes connected with the political will to continue socialist renewal.

The second chapter characterizes the U.S. policy towards developments in Poland. The U.S. expected that as a result of the development of crisis and aggravation of the poltiical struggle, the victory of pro-Western and anti-socialist orientation in Poland was close at hand as was the introduction of such changes which at least would have made Poland something like the Trojan horse in the socialist community. The U.S. politicians could not reconcile with the fact that Poles were solving their own problems with their own forces. They did not conceal that the U.S. fundamental target was to return to the situation which had existed in Poland before the introduction of martial law.

The third chapter discusses the U.S. campaign to internationalize the so-called Polish issue and to take up the role of prime mover of actions aimed at Poland's international isolation. At the same time, U.S. politicians employed peculiar rhetorics and moralizing which testified to hyprocrisy and political cynicism. The country which made countless interventions in Latin America, invaded Cuba and Grenada, organized coups d'etat in Guatemala and Chile, which waged a genocidal war in Vietnam and avoids assuming commitments which stem from many international agreements tries to instruct others. That is why the note from the Polish Government to the U.S. Government of November 3, 1983, includes the wording that "The U.S. Government has neither formal-legal, nor political, nor, the more so, moral right" to take up the policy of restrictions and interference in Poland's internal affairs.

The fourth chapter discusses the assessment of the policy of restrictions from the point of view of international law, showing discrepancies between this policy and the fundamental norms of international law and commitments stemming from bilateral agreements and declarations. The effect of restrictions imposed by the U.S. is the destruction of nearly entire infrastructure of bilateral relations in the field of economy, finances, trade, science and technology, and culture.

The documents contained in the fifth chapter shed light on the dimensions and estimates of losses numbered in works presented by the Institute of National Economy, Institute for Prices and the Centre of Scientific, Technological and Economic Information at the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

The sixth chapter discusses Poland's stand on the policy of restrictions. The main document is the note addressed by the Polish Government to the U.S. Government which contains a general assessment of the U.S. policy vis a vis Poland and Poland's stand on this issue.

The seventh cahpter deals with propaganda aggression against Poland inspired and controlled by the U.S. Administration. To directly inspire anti-socialist activity in Poland, the United States makes use of, for example, instruction-giving broadcasts by the Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America.

Statements by representatives of the Polish authorities lodged with the American side constitute the eighth chapter which presents official Polish messages, communiques, notes, demarches and protests. The keynote of these documents is the consistent activity pursued by the Polish authorities to defend basic interests of the Polish state and the common good of all its citizens, persistent demands addressed to the U.S. side to halt lawless and unfriendly moves in the sphere of political, economic, scientific and other relations and to the U.S. Government to take up necessary moves to remove losses which the Polish economy and the Polish people suffered as a result of actions taken by the President Reagan administration.

These documents are only a part of all there is. The necessity to make a selection was determined not only by the size of the publication. A more significant reason for this is a normal limitation on the access to such documents before the elapse of a longer period of time. The Polish Foreign Ministry agreed to give access, only to a small extent, to some documents from talks held with the U.S. representatives in Warsaw. The publication makes only a scarce mention of the activity by the U.S. special services and the role of U .S. institutions in Poland, though documents which the Polish authorities have on these issues are quite many.

The publication ends with a list of dates of the most significant developments and facts in the Polish-U.S. relations in the period from August 1980 to December 1983. The anti-Polish activity pursued by the Reagan administration in both the bilateral plane and the international forum failed. Poland has not been left alone. Its alliances with socialist countries have passed the test. An overwhelming majority of countries all over the world did not give in to the U.S. pressure, they maintained and even developed relations with Poland filled with good feelings, understanding and cooperation. A necessary reorientation stemming from these experiences is being introduced in Poland's foreign policy.

As to the United States, the Government of the Polish People's Republic has stated many times that the road to improvement of mutual relations is not closed. Such an improvement however, cannot be based on apparent actions. The road to improvement leads through the U.S. recognition of realities of the situation in Poland, basing relations on generally accepted principles of international law, lifting all restrictions and abandoning other unfriendly and lawless moves, and starting actions to offset damages which have been caused.

Book Reviewed

LD111233 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Now, our editorial comment with Andrzej Zychowicz at the microphone:

I have here a collection of documents on U.S. policy toward Poland compiled by the Polish Institute of International Affairs and the Institute for Research on Contemporary Problems of Capitalism. The publication is short on comment; the facts covering the period 1980-83 speak for themselves. This publication aims at giving the evidence, as the authors put it, on the important chapter in the history of mutual relations between Poland and the United States.

As a result of U.S. policy, these relations are at a critical point. The book covers the whole range of issues -- political, economic, propaganda, and others. It shows all the areas where U.S. policy directed against Polish interests was present. Considerable parts of the book are devoted to the losses suffered by Polish economy as a result of American restrictions. The chapters devoted to this issue were elaborated by teams of experts, and they present the balance of losses suffered by the entire economy, as well as by particular enterprises and branches of industry. The losses resulting from the boycott of Polish goods, the suspension of credits, the restrictions on licenses, and other reasons are elaborated in detail.

As shown by the recent statement by Under Secretary of State Wallis, the American side also admits that the restrictions had a serious effect on our economy.

An extensive chapter is devoted to Polish interventions, statements, notes, demarches, and verbal protests to the U.S. authorities.

Generally speaking, this work keeps an objective tone, based on authority, and is carefully elaborated. It shows the effects and the mechanisms of U.S. policy toward Poland during those several years.

Officials Answer Questions

LD112152 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Warsaw 11 April -- Representatives of the Institute of International Affairs (PISM) and the Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism were answering questions from foreign journalists at the press conference here today concerning the publication of the "white book" dealing with tne U.S. policy towards Poland in the years 1980-83, brought out in Warsaw today.

Taking a stand on doubts by some American journalists whether the fact of bringing out the publication at the moment when -- in their opinion -- signs of political thaw have come from the American side, could not exacerbate Polish-American relations, Ambassador Bohdan Tomorowicz of the PISM said: "On the contrary: publishing the book can induce a reflection on the part of those American circles who can use their influence to regulate the nature of the relations with Poland.

"Poland's stand upon the relations with the U.S. is unequivocal -- Ambassador Tomorowicz said. Of course, we want them to be as best they can. But to achieve that appropriate conditions created by both sides are needed. However, it is hard to talk about any one-sided improvement, especially when it results from the attacked side's action for the sake of improvement."

"The American side must introduce a principal change in forming the whole policy towards our country. Any small signs or signals are so out of proportion with what has been done in the reverse direction in that period that they cannot [word indistinct] the situation. As far as the choice of the moment for the publication: We could print another volume to cover the time since the documents were compiled and, unfortunately, the documents would be similar."

Ambassador Tomorowicz added that the selection of documents as objective and representative as possible required considerable effort from the authors of the book. "The U.S. President alone talked about Polish affairs three times a month, to say nothing of the statements by the State Department, spokesmen for the White House or various secretaries of state," he said.

Mr Tomorowicz said that Poland will not fail to draw practical conclusions from the U.S. policy towards her. "It is an irony that the punishing hand of Ronald Reagan's administration was raised against the country which in its foreign policy proved its deep interest in building the best possible East-West relations during the entire post-war period."

"It is also an irony that the fact of Poland's even greater than other countries' involvement in building material infrastructure of detente was used to strike when it was easier to strike because of the difficult situation in the country. Undoubtedly, it is a bitter lesson. This tears apart not only this material infrastructure of East-West cooperation and shakes the confidence but also orders more careful [words indistinct] and building a different structure of those relations."

Assistant Professor Bohdan Kikolski of the Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism reminded the conference that the U.S. imposed on Poland similar 'sanctions' in the early 1950's. The present restrictions are graver and are adjusted to the situation of contemporary world," said he.

SUPREME SOVIET SESSION, CHERNENKO'S ELECTION

LD111802 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] The first joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet has elected CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko as its new chairman. At the same time Nikolay Tikhonov was reelected as chairman of the Council of Ministers. It is expected that tomorrow he will present the composition of the government to the Supreme Soviet.

Nominating Nikolay Tikhonov for the position of head of the government, Konstantin Chernenko stressed that the Council of Ministers -- the composition of which is to be confirmed by the session -- faces large and important tasks. The 11th Five-Year-Plan is at an extraordinarily important stage of its implementation, that of comprehensive programs on an enormous scale, on which increases in the economic and defensive might of our country and the raising of the material and cultural life of the nation depend, Konstantin Chernenko stated. He also stressed that one has to pursue an active foreign policy with the aim of creating favorable conditions for the life and work of the Soviet people, of the fraternal socialist countries, of freeing humanity from thermonuclear catastrophe, and of consolidating peace and international security.

The agenda for the session envisages: the election of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the creation of the government and the committee for people's control. The Supreme Court will also be elected and a prosecutor general of the Soviet Union will be appointed. The Supreme Soviet will also go over the issue of the fundamental trends in the reform of general educational and professional schools.

FOREIGN TRADE OFFICIAL KAPUSCINSKI VISITS MEXICO

For Mexico City NOTIMEX reportage on Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Jerzy Kapuscinski's visit to Mexico, including discussions involving increasing trade, industrial cooperation, and fishing, see the Mexico section of the 11 April Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

JARUZELSKI, OTHERS CITED ON SELF-MANAGEMENT

LD101433 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2120 GMT 9 Apr 84

[Excerpts] During the discussion [at the national conference of representatives of work forces' self-government held in the Sejm today], Minister Wladyslaw Baka, government plenipotentiary for economic reform, said:

[Begin Baka recording] The government considers it a duty to present to representatives of workers self-management the entire complexity of our present economic situation. This is a necessary premise for correct fulfillment of their statutory functions by self-managements. Economic reform has made new division of roles between enterprise and organs of stte administration. Independence of enterprise has been increased, many essential economic decisions have been handed over to workers self-managements, and power must be followed by responsibility. Presently, the government, and the workers self-managements are jointly responsible for the economy, its development, and ability to satisfy social needs. It is clear that the scale of responsibility varies, as the scope of [words indistinct] is varied.

Undoubtedly, the idea of joint responsibility will be successful if it is supported by the same understanding of the needs of our economy by the government and workers self-managements. This demands the knowledge of realities, barriers, and limits, as well as potential possibilities of the economy by both sides. It demands mutual flow of information, views, and conclusions. That is why we attach such great importance to today's meeting. This is why we consider it an important factor in consolidating new principles in the functioning of the economy. [end recording]

[Begin Baka recording] In this situation, our activities must aim at achieving the greatest level of satisfaction of social needs in the present objective conditions of development. This is the substance of our socioeconomic policy. Is it possible? We think it is, because untapped economic reserves are considerable. This is being manifested by not quite 65 percent use of working time in industry, and more than twice higher consumption of materials and energy in production than in countries with more economic development. Also, not quite 70 percent use of production apparatus, losses suffered by our economy due to poor quality output, and not fully used potential of Polish science, technical progress, rationalization, and inventiveness.

There are considerable chances for economic progress. It demands, however, decisive improvement in effectiveness of management. This is not a new slogan. We heard it in the sixties and it was constantly repeated in seventies. Slogans did not appeal to people. We did not achieve improvement in effectiveness of management. Do we have a guarantee today that a reverse will take place? There is no such guarantee. There is, on the other hand, a great chance provided by economic reform initiated in 1982, and particularly strong dependence of the situation in an enterprise and work force on the effective operation of the enterprise, and direct linking of remuneration with results of work.

Esteemed assembly, results achieved in 1983 indicate that we are on a good road.

Overcoming such a great crisis demands time. It is a long-term process. Meanwhile, many people identify the introduction of reforms with immediate solutions to the country's economic problems. Such false vision had been propagated by political opposition, and it exists in some circles of the population. Overcoming this false vision is an essential condition for general social support for reforms. For example, the fact that price increases in Poland, which had been generally considered as a result of the reform, would have occurred regardless of reform, and realization that giving up reform can only contribute to a deeper crisis, and reduced economic activity.

The cause of doubt among some economic and self-management activists are continued cases of violation of principles of the reform and law by organs of administration. The government stance is clear: to improve mechanism, to amend rules if new demands require, but the law in force must be observed by all. This line of action will be consistently executed in practice. We think that is important not only for the strengthening of order and discipline in the economy and community, but it is an important precept for involving people in the process of social and economic renewal. [end recording]

Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the meeting, its sincerity and gravity, confirm that self-managements are authentic, actively at work, and a constructive and increasingly important link in our economic system. The discussion, the premier said, confirmed that it was correct to set about reforms. The reform is not understood as an end in itself but as a method for overcoming difficulties, a means of increasing social activity, of improving the effectiveness of work. The premier stressed that it would be premature to make an assessment in full of the effects of the reform to date, since it is still at the phase of introduction and indispensable modification. This is a long-term process. The activity of the self-management, Wojciech Jaruzleski stressed, is in accord with the nature of socialism. The self-managements, the workers' councils, release the initiative of the work force. They ought to be a school of good management, alongside the dominant processes of harmonious cooperation between various links of management, the party organization, the self-management and the trade unions, the first secretary of the Central Committee then remarked. Particular, natural differences and contradictions may arise so long as they do not stem from petty ambitions. These differences can and ought to become an impetus in the search for constructive solutions to fulfill the joint goals.

Speaking of the difficulties mentioned in the discussion, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that these have to be divided into subjective and objective ones. It is bad if the latter become a screen for the former. The objective factors conditioning our economy are well-known and there is no other way of dealing with them than through better and more effective work.

At the same time it is necessary to look for all the methods of resolving difficulties whose overcoming lies within the sphere of our capabilities. There are many examples of this. They also have been listed during the course of today's discussion. They provide the evidence that there are vast reserves inherent in our economy. We have to mobilize those.

The reform and thus self-management, the premier said in conclusion, is our historic experience. We have initiated it under difficult circumstances but also with great hopes. As every experiment, it still has various weaknesses and its mechanisms are being perfected. However, everything depends on people; on how they will implement the new principles. Our common point of honor and ambition ought to be to make this great task a success.

Subsequently the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee conveyed his words of gratitude and wishes of success in their work to representatives of self-management.

Zbigniew Szalajda said, among other things:

[Begin recording] I understand that if one is here, that is, at such a meeting, where there are representatives of supreme authorities -- the party, the government, and the Sejm -- one does not want to talk about one's own matters and problems, things that happen in enterprises. People want to talk about things that could be decided here [words indistinct]

I believe that such a meeting should be an occasion, or could be an occasion, to share knowledge of good examples in areas of difficulties and in economy with materials, quality of production, rationalization of employment, size of production, and modernization to show how certain self-managements have resolved these problems and have been successful in resolving certain issues, and how certain issues could not be resolved and why.

I have to say that something could move in certain areas: In the sphere of quality we issued regulations and decrees. Nothing would move. There are spheres of employment and rationalization of employment -- not the employment there is a shortage of, but in the sphere of employment where the proportion between employees directly employed in production and white collar workers has not changed for the better for 3 years: It does not want to move. We cannot jump over certain barriers. We would like to find out. We would like you to share your good or bad experiences in these areas, so that we can find possibilities and means of activity in these spheres together. After all, there are many good examples there, too. [end recording]

Zbigniew Szalajda also expressed his opinions on comments, remarks, and postulates mentioned in the discussion.

At the end of the conference Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member, secretary of the Central Committee, and chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, rose to speak. On behalf of the club he expressed his positive opinions towards the proposal to organise such meetings more often. They are conducive to a better understanding of self-management. Later he said, among other things:

[Begin recording] We are watching attempts to shift politics into self-management with great concern. This poses not only a threat of divisions in self-management but also a threat of deepening divisions among work forces. On the other hand, we are watching all that self-management is doing to improve productivity and the results of factories and to increase the working people's participation in management. However, because of this it is very worrying that there is difficulty between different self-managing units of production. Well you know, when I listen here to the discussion and watch [words indistinct] this haggling over prices in the case of negotiated prices between factories, an old saying about a nobleman in his own country house involuntarily comes to mind. In our factories we all feel a little like these noblemen: No one will stretch out a helping hand to another. Yet all of us together constitute Polish industry, and either Polish industry is going to function well -- and this would be a vote for self-management for directors, for reform -- or one problem will create new problems as a result of pettiness, an inability to think in broader terms than a till keeper and, of course, everything will just go to hell. A healthy instinct is necessary in this whole affair. If the state of cooperation continues to be unsatisfactory, then we will all kill each other. Yes, you will murder each other.

Anything we do will turn out to be ineffective if enterprises are not set to rights. There is no economic life without the enterprise, without [words indistinct] for that reason you must not let yourselves be deceived by appearances. Do not let yourselves be deceived by appearances, for it the minister of finances [passage indistinct]

If things are to be better, it has to be organized internally in the enterprise. Of course, [words indistinct] about what is done in factories, but when I wrote down the postulates as you put them forward there -- and please do not think I bear you malice for putting forward postulates -- when I noted them, to me it (?boiled down) to a call from you for an increase in inflation in Poland. If all those postulates of yours were to be accepted, then that would (?mean) justifying inflation at three times greater than (?assumed).

We must return to the idea of production, multiplication, [words indistinct] if we do not consider how to do more (?with) the raw materials we have today, with the means we have at our disposal today, then we will indeed be dividing, for there will be less and less to share out. After all, the point is for there to be more. I apologize if that sounded too (?threatening). I want us to understand ourselves as well as possible and (?know) what the most important thing is. [end recording]

In conclusion the speaker took a stand on many problems the representatives of worker self-governments brought up during the discussion.

SOLIDARITY MAY DAY PROTEST, ELECTION BOYCOTT

Demonstrations 1, 3 May

AU120724 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0500 GMT 12 Apr 84

[Excerpt] The banned trade union Solidarity has again called for protest demonstrations from the underground. Demonstrations are to be held on 1 May, Labor Day, and on 3 May, the former national holiday and the anniversary of the liberal Constitution of 1791.

Boycott Plans

NC121212 Paris AFP in English 1208 GMT 12 Apr 84

[By Dominique Garraud]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, April 12 (AFP) -- The banned Solidarity Trade Union has launched a campaign for a massive boycott of nationwide municipal elections June 17 in a move seen as a major test of passive resistance to the rule of General Wolciech Jaruzelski. In a long statement dated April 10 and received today by the Western press here, Solidarity's clandestine leadership (TKK) explained why it has called for a boycott of what will be the first national elections since March 1980.

Coming two and a half years after the declaration of martial law in December 1981, and almost a year after martial law was lifted last July, the elections are "a caricature of democracy with the sole purpose of breaking the dignity and sovereignty of the population," TKK said. TKK denounced the fact that the only candidates allowed, two for each seat, were those selected by official parties and organizations. The election boycott must be "massive so that the myth of social support (for the regime)" is discredited, the clandestine leadership added. TKK said its goal, "everywhere possible," was for 50 percent adstentionism, which would force new elections, to Polish electoral law. [sentence as received]

A call was also made for Poles to monitor voter participation. The operation, called "Three Times Five" would have Poles counting for five minutes, at least three times during the elections, the number of voters leaving polling areas and then reporting this to the clandestine organization.

CEAUSESCU, WIFE LEAVE FOR SFRY 12 APRIL

AU120815 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 12 Apr 84

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, left this morning on a friendly visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of Comrade Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and of Comrade Dragoslav Markovic, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The party secretary general and president of the Republic is accompanied on this visit by Comrades Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee; Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; and by other officials.

The official airport hall was adorned with the party-state flags framing Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's portrait.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu were seen off by members and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee; secretaries of the Central Committee; members of the State Council and government; and leaders of central institutions and civic organizations. The charge d'affaires ad interim of Yugoslavia in Bucharest and other embassy members were also present.

Before boarding the plane, a group of pioneers presented flowers to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu. The presidential plan took off at 1030 for Yugoslavia.

DASCALESCU RETURNS TO BUCHAREST FROM IRAQ

AU111839 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 11/4/1984 -- Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, returned to Bucharest on April 11 in the afternoon, after an official visit to the Republic of Iraq as guest of that country's government. Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister, and other members of the Romanian Government attended the arrival at the Otopeni Airport.

The Romanian premier was cordially seen off in Baghdad by Iraqi First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan, by other Iraqi officials.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES SUDANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS

AU112049 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 11/4/1984 -- Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received on April 11 the delegation of the National People's Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Sudan led by 'Iz-al-'Ayn as-Sayid, speaker of the Assembly, president of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, that paid a visit to Romania.

The chief delegate addressed Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu warmest greetings and best wishes on behalf of the president of the Democratic Republic of Sudan, Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, and of Mme Numayri.

The Romanian head of state thanked and requested that friendly greetings and best wishes be conveyed to the president of Sudan and to Mme Numayri.

During the interview which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere, satisfaction was expressed at the positive course of the Romanian-Sudanese relations, in keeping with the decisions made during the summit dialogues in Bucharest and Khartoum, as well as the wish to intensify and diversify collaboration on multiple planes.

Views were also exchanged on current international questions, with emphasis on the fact that, in the present conditions, highly responsible action should be taken to prevent the deterioration of the world situation, resume and further the policy of detente, peace, collaboration and respect for the national independence of all peoples. It was shown that the peaceful, negotiated settlement of all litigious issues and conflicts in various parts of the world, while observing each nation's right to independence and sovereignty, to free, self-reliant development, was a prerequisiste for the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

It was stressed that the major problems of our days were the cessation of the arms race and the passage to tangible measures of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in particular, without which peace and security worldwide cannot be conceived.

During the interview, the significance was highlighted of the eradication of underdevelopment, the bridging of gaps between poor and rich countries, and the building of a new international economic order which should provide for equitable development of all nations, especially of the lagging ones.

The role was underlined the parliaments, the inter-parliamentary union should play in the establishment of a climate of peace, security and understanding, and the wish was expressed to intensify cooperation between the parliaments of the two countries on an international plane so as to enhance Romania's and Sudan's contribution to solving the major problems of the contemporary world.

The speaker of the National People's Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Sudan was highly appreciative of Romania's and President Nicolae Ceausescu's position on international issues as well as of the Romanian initiatives regarding disarmament, the elimination of the policy of force and dictate, the building of a climate of peace and collaboration all over the world.

The interview was attended by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania.

Delegation Departs

AU111830 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1751 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 11/4/1984 -- 'Iz-al-'Ayn as-Sayid, speaker of the National People's Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Sudan, president of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, left Bucharest on April 11 after paying a visit to Romania at head of a delegation.

The guest was seen off at the Otopeni Airport by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania, and by deputies.

REPORTAGE OF DOS SANTOS VISIT, RELATIONS

Ceausescu Hosts Dinner

AU061840 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 6 Apr 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 6/4/1984 -- Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania gave an official dinner, on April 6, for Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] -- Party of Labour, president of the People's Republic of Angola.

Romanian and Angolan officials were guests to the dinner. During the dinner, held in a friendly atmosphere, Nicolae Ceausescu and Jose Eduardo dos Santos made speeches.

Ceausescu Toast

AU091037 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Apr 84 pp 1, 3

[Toast by President Nicolae Ceausescu at 6 April Bucharest dinner given for Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos]

[Text] Comrade Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, Angolan comrade guests, comrades, and friends, we take special pleasure in warmly greeting you as guests of Socialist Romania and to extend on this occasion too, a cordial welcome to our country.

The visit you are paying to our country is an expression of the positive relations of friendship and solidarity established between our peoples already during the years of the Angolan people's liberation struggle. Our party and people have given the MPLA-Labor Party and the Angolan people active support at a political, diplomatic, moral, and material level and have determinedly backed their struggle and legitimate aspirations for freedom and national independence, and for achieving a new, free, and dignified life.

We are glad to note that Romanian-Angolan friendship and solidarity are successfully developing today in the interest of the socioeconomic development of the two countries and peoples and of the cause of peace and international cooperation.

It was in March 1974, that is, 10 years ago, that we signed, together with Comrade Neto, a joint declaration on our parties' and peoples' solidarity.

I recall with great pleasure the visit I paid to the People's Republic of Angola in 1979. The talks I conducted on that occasion with the late lamented Agostinho Neto and the Romanian-Angolan Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation we signed have laid a lasting foundation and have opened up broad prospects for relations between our countries and parties. In the spirit of what was agreed a number of cooperative ventures were initiated or are underway, particularly in such fields as agriculture, wood processing, and cadre training. Numerous Angolan young people have been trained or are being trained in Romania to become specialists in various fields. I am convinced that within the framework of the talks we have begun today, we shall find new possibilities to further expand our mutually advantageous cooperation.

Dear friends, we know that in the struggle for the country's reconstruction and development the Angolan people had to cope with very difficult problems owing to the aggressive actions by South Africa and the imperialist circles which hampered them in focusing on efforts aimed at ensuring their socioeconomic progress.

We believe that the understanding on the disengagement of the troops of the Republic of South Africa in the south of Angola and the cessation of any kind of aggressive action in the future will constitute an important factor in the Angolan people's struggle for strengthening independence and sovereignty and for their independent socioeconomic development. As close friends, we wish you increasingly greater successes on the road of building a new system, of a free and independent Angola, and on the road of building a life of well-being and happiness for the friendly Angolan people.

Comrade President, the visit you are paying to our country will be an opportunity for you to become directly acquainted with some of the concerns and achievements of the Romanian people in building the comprehensively developed socialist society. This year we will be celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for national and social liberation in Romania. Our achievements in this time span, in developing the economy, science and culture, and in improving our living standard clearly demonstrate the strength of free people who are masters of their destiny, the superiority of the socialist system we are building in our fatherland, and its ability to ensure the well-being and happiness of all our nation.

In constantly concerning ourselves with ensuring conditions for successfully building socialism, we pay particular attention to international developments and we actively promote a policy of international cooperation, independence, and peace.

We are concerned about the unprecedented tension that has been reached at an international level as a result of an intensified arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, a fact that greatly endangers the life and freedom of all peoples, and peace throughout the world. Proceeding from this, we believe that the basic problem of our time is to halt the arms race, proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and eliminate the danger of a world war which would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe that would destroy the very conditions of life on earth.

The situation in Europe is particularly serious. The deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in certain West European countries led to the intensification of the arms race. This made the Soviet Union adopt nuclear countermeasures in response, so that one can state that a new and very dangerous stage of the nuclear arms race has begun. Romania firmly advocates and struggles to stop the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles on the European continent and, at the same time, to halt the nuclear countermeasures announced by the USSR; it acts toward the resumption of Soviet-American negotiations so that an appropriate agreement is reached on the complete elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe and the elimination of any kind of nuclear weapons in general.

We advocate and very firmly act to develop cooperation in the Balkans, to turn this area into a nuclear-free zone and a zone without foreign military bases. We also advocate the creation of such nuclear-free zones in other parts of Europe and the world.

We actively support the peoples' struggle for completely eliminating colonial domination and we are fully in solidarity with the Namibian people's efforts -- under the leadership of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO] -- to achieve independence. In this spirit, we are struggling for the immediate application of the UN resolution on democratically solving the Namibian people's problem and ensuring their independence.

We believe that the African people, as in fact all peoples, must do all they can to further strengthen their solidarity and unity in their struggle to completely eliminate colonialism, neocolonialism, and any form of imperialist domination and oppression, to protect and strengthen their national independence, and advance along the road to socioeconomic progress. In this respect, an important role devolves upon the OAU, which can make an active contribution to politically solving the state of tension that still exists on the continent, and to strengthening the African countries' solidarity and cooperation.

Under the current international circumstances, everything must be done to resolve disputes between countries solely by peaceful means, and to exclude the use or threat of force in international relations. In this spirit, Romania advocates and acts to bring about the settlement of the problems in the Middle East by negotiations, the end of the war between Iran and Iraq, and the solution of all conflicts and the elimination of existing sources of tension in various parts of the world by political means.

Taking into consideration the constant aggravation of the economic situation of developing countries, we believe that those countries have to strengthen their cooperation and must act more unitedly to establish a common strategy in negotiations with the developed countries, and in their struggle to establish a new international economic order based on complete equality and equity in relations between countries.

We believe that all countries, irrespective of size or social system, should participate on an equal footing in resolving the complex problems of today. An increasingly greater role devolves on the small and medium-size, the developing, and nonaligned countries, which constitute the great majority of world states and are directly interested in a policy of equality, independence, cooperation, and peace. We also believe that the role and contribution of the United Nations and other international organizations in solving problems and in democratizing relations between countries, and in ensuring peace and understanding among nations should increase.

Life and relations in the world today forcefully stress that the role of peoples in determining the trend of events and in resolving the major problems concerning peace and mankind' progress are becoming more and more important. We are firmly convinced that by acting in unison, the peoples and progressive forces everywhere can ensure the triumph of the policy of disarmament, peace, independence, security, and cooperation among all world peoples.

Trusting that your visit to Romania and the understandings we will reach will open up new prospects for multifaceted cooperation between our countries in the interest and to the benefit of both peoples, the general cause of cooperation, peace, and independence, I would like to propose a toast to:

-- Strengthening friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples!

-- The health of Comrade Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola!

-- The health of all of you!

-- Peace and cooperation throughout the world! (loud applause)

Dos Santos' Toast

AU091334 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Apr 84 pp 1, 3

[Toast proposed by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at the dinner given in his honor by President Nicolae Ceausescu in Bucharest on 6 April]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, comrade members of the RCP Central Committee, comrades: It is with great pleasure that we accepted the invitation of the RCP Central Committee, the RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to visit your beautiful country. We are the bearers of a message of fraternal and militant greetings from the Angolan people and the members of the MPLA-Labor Party to the Romanian people and their party with which we are linked by relations of friendship and solidarity established during our people's struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

The Socialist Republic of Romania ranks among the socialist and progressive countries that have played an active role in exposing the colonial policy practiced by the Portuguese fascists in Africa and in mobilizing and channeling the logistic support granted to the fighters for freedom led by the MPLA.

The personal ties that were established during that difficult time in our history between the dear departed Comrade Dr Antonio Agostinho Neto, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party, and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as other meetings that took place between members of the leaderships of our countries served the deepening of mutual understanding and demonstrated that we are linked by common goals in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and for complete independence, progress, and social justice.

We note with great satisfaction and gladness that the essential identity of viewpoints in our joint struggle and that the relations of friendship and solidarity which unite our peoples and parties were strengthened after the proclamation of our independence more than 8 years ago, favoring an increase in the mutually advantageous economic cooperation between our two countries.

We are aware that we have not yet exhausted all possibilities of cooperation between the two countries; the Socialist Republic of Romania has acquired great experience in the struggle for eliminating capitalist society and in creating the material and technical basis for building a socialist society. From a country that was ruined by World War II and was facing serious problems linked to lack of food, housing, work places, medical care, medicines, schools, professors, and other things, all of which had led to very difficult conditions for the great majority of Romanian workers and peasants, your country -- due to its creative spirit and the party's guidelines -- was able to build the necessary infrastructures enabling it to solve the problems facing the people and to overcome serious gaps in the economy and culture.

Our country is currently facing problems of national reconstruction and those brought about by the imperialist war of intervention and aggression. We are facing problems similar to those which confronted your people in the not too distant past, and thus we believe that we are perfectly understood at a time when we are trying to define the parameters that will guide our economic cooperation on a complementary basis.

Although our country has great economic potential that must be evaluated and explored, we have little financial and technological resources available, as is the case with the other underdeveloped countries; for this reason, credits and special or generous conditions for repayment will always lie at the foundation of any initiative that can yield results in the field of economic cooperation.

Now I would like to speak briefly about imperialist aggression against our country.

Our people, the Angolan people, have not yet had a moment of peace since they began their armed struggle for freedom in February 1961. Once Portuguese colonialism was defeated, imperialism -- through the direct intervention by the South African regime and through the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] armed gangs it uses -- began waging a destructive war against our people, and this has delayed or hampered the implementation of our programs on economic development.

The preferred targets of the enemy are economic units and the infrastructure, hydropower plants, fuel depots, and means of conveyance, many of which were destroyed and rebuilt by us later. Through this policy of war, the enemy is trying to destabilize the domestic situation of the People's Republic of Angola in order to create conditions for replacing its legitimate government and establishing a puppet government loyal to the interests of imperialism.

Nevertheless, due to the experience gained by the MPLA and by the Angolan people during the two wars of national liberation and the solidarity shown by all progressive forces in the world, particularly Cuba and the Soviet Union, we are strengthening the morale and combat capacity of our Armed Forces and of our people to continue the struggle to neutralize the puppet gangs of the UNITA and the neocolonialist and imperialist plans. At the same time, we have recorded some important results in building the new society in the economic, educational, cultural, health, and other fields.

Along with the military efforts we have made to preserve the achievements attained by the Angolan people thus far, we have carried out intensive diplomatic activity in seeking an urgent solution to the conflict in Namibia on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution No 435.

In connection with the conflict in Namibia, I would like to stress that this conflict, in which SWAPO and the South African regime are opponents, must be resolved by the sides concerned on the basis of Security Council Resolution No 435 and under UN auspices. The People's Republic of Angola is not involved in that conflict, but it will not renounce solidarity with the Namibian people in their struggle for independence under SWAPO leadership.

We believe that an important step was made when our country agreed with the Pretoria government to cease hostilities and to work out a program of withdrawal of the South African armed units from southern Angola. Only the application of resolution No 435 is the sole guarantee for establishing a secure and lasting peace in this part of southern Africa.

Esteemed comrades, the international situation is currently characterized by the sharpening of contradictions in capitalism and by the strengthening of the global strategy of imperialism to create sources of tension in various parts of the world, which especially affects the progressive countries favoring peace, progress, freedom, and social justice.

The application of plans for destabilization through military intervention or through other strategems seriously threatens the survival of the progressive countries in the so-called Third World.

Therefore, it is important to increase the material support for and political and moral solidarity with the oppressed peoples who are subject to aggression, and to strengthen the struggle for disarmament, peace, and a just economic and social order in the world.

I want to express thanks, on my own behalf and on behalf of the delegation accompanying me, for the friendly and warm welcome given to us in Bucharest. We are sure that the results of this visit will serve the expansion of the traditional relations of friendship and solidarity between our peoples and parties and give impetus to economic cooperation and mutually advantageous trade exchanges.

In conclusion I want to raise this glass to:

-- the health of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania!

-- the strengthening of friendship between the Angolan people and the Romanian people! (loud applause)

Agreements Signed

AU091219 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1129 GMT 9 Apr 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 9/4/1984 -- The working meetings between the members of the Romanian and Angolan delegations materialized in agreements between the governments of the two countries which were signed on Monday, April 9.

Vasile Pungan, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Carlos Antonio Fernandes, Angolan secretary of state for cooperation, signed an agreement between the governments of the two countries on sea navigation, while the Romanian foreign minister, Stefan Andrei, and the minister of foreign affairs of Angola, Paulo Teixera Jorge, signed an agreement between the governments of their countries on civil air transport. The foreign ministers of the two countries also exchanged the instruments of ratification of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Angola, signed in Luanda on April 14, 1979.

RCP-MPLA Protocol

AU091220 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1126 GMT 9 Apr 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 9/4/1984 -- Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and Afonso Domingos van Dunem Mbinda, member of the CC and foreign relations secretary of the MPLA-Party of Labour, signed a protocol on collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the MPLA-Party of Labour of Angola for 1984-1985 on Monday, April 9.

Ceausescu Interview With ANGOP

AU091356 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Apr 84 pp 1, 5

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 5 April received Luis Filipe Guimaraes da Motta Veiga David Mestre, special envoy of the Angolan news agency ANGOP.

On this occasion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu gave the following interview.

Question: Comrade President, we would like you to briefly review the development of bilateral relations between our parties and peoples and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Angola.

Answer: Relations between the RCP and the MPLA were established and strongly developed during the Angolan people's liberatory fight. Many meetings between our two parties took place at that time, there were visits of the liberation movement's delegations, of Comrade Neto, and joint documents were signed.

Romania and the RCP supported politically and materially the Angolan people's fight for independence.

After the liberatory fight triumphed and the People's Republic of Angola was formed, diplomatic relations were established between our two countries and active cooperation developed in various fields, foremost economically and politically.

Our Angolan visit in 1979 and the documents then adopted provided a durable basis for cooperation between our parties and countries. I expect the imminent visit to Romania of the president of the People's Republic of Angola, Eduardo dos Santos, will mark another major moment in the ties between our two parties and countries, will give a fresh perspective to multilateral Romanian-Angolan cooperation to the benefit of the two peoples and of the cause of international peace and cooperation.

Question: What are the prospects for further developing relations between our countries and peoples?

Answer: Given the fact that both Romania and Angola plan to strongly develop their economies, that both countries -- of course, at different development stages -- are building a new social system, and judging from our experience and relations, it is my opinion that there are conditions for a further development of collaboration between our two parties and countries. Initially, I think of broad economic cooperation in oil, mining and other industries, and also of broader cooperation in agriculture where we already have experience and fine results.

At the same time, there are, in my opinion, prospects for growing political cooperation against the imperialist colonialist policy, for the strengthening of national sovereignty and independence, for a policy of international peace and cooperation.

Question: Comrade President, we would like you to tell us what the position of the Socialist Republic of Romania is on the peace efforts made by the People's Republic of Angola, on the situation in Southern Africa and on the application of the UN resolution No 435/78 regarding Namibia's independence, a country which is illegally occupied by the South African racist regime.

Answer: Romania has always supported the peoples' liberation fight and is actively supporting all peoples fighting for independence. In that framework, we actively support SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], the Namibian people's fight for independence. We have always condemned and are firmly for the termination of the apartheid policy in South Africa.

We have given active support to the front-line countries in Austral Africa, including Angola, against South Africa's aggressions. It is our view that the UN resolutions on Namibia's access to independence are an important factor and create possibilities for the resolution of the question concerning Namibia's independence. Unfortunately, as is known, South Africa refused and continues to refuse to translate those resolutions into fact.

We have always welcomed the efforts of Angola and the other countries in Southern Africa to reject South Africa's aggressions. We have always been for an end to those acts, for the unswerving observance of the independence and sovereignty of the countries in Austral Africa, therefore of Angola too.

It is in this context that we view the understandings reached between Angola and South Africa on the withdrawal of South African troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola and the cessation of all acts of aggression in future. We consider this as an important factor of consolidating the independence and sovereignty of Angola, of achieving a passage to socioeconomic development and the attainment of the targets concerning a rise in the people's material and spiritual welfare.

Naturally, the problem is that South Africa should respect those understandings and put a definitive end to all acts of aggression. We understand this as falling within the context of a political, diplomatic struggle and, in this respect, we will grant the Angolan people our full support.

Question: Your initiatives and proposals on achieving peace and disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, are known and appreciated in Angola and throughout the world. We would be grateful if you would describe Romania's position on the arms race and on the problem of nuclear weapons in particular.

Answer: As is well known, the international life has recently become extremely tense. The arms race, the nuclear arms race in particular, intensified. In late 1983 U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles started being deployed in some Western European countries, which contributed to the intensification of nuclear arming. This made the Soviet Union announce countermeasures so that we may say nuclear arming has entered a new, highly dangerous phase. As a matter of fact, according to official data, military spending reached about 700 billion dollars a year, which is a heavy burden on socioeconomic development, on the economic situation in general, on the peoples' standard of living.

Under these circumstances, Romania considers that the fundamental problem of our epoch is the cessation of the arms race, of the nuclear arms race first and foremost, and the achievement of a passage to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. In this framework, we give special attention at present to halting the emplacement of the U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe and to preventing the application of the countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union, to the resumption of the talks between the two countries and the achievement of a corresponding agreement on the complete elimination of intermediate-range missiles, of all nuclear weapons in general from Europe.

In this respect, Romania set forth a series of proposals and directly addressed the two nuclear states, the states in whose territories the missiles are to be sited, as well as the other states in Europe, appealing for joint action to halt the nuclear arms race and ensure the nations' and peoples' foremost right to existence, to life, and to freedom. We believe that the powerful peace movement, the strengthening of all the peoples' collaboration and solidarity in this fight, will entail a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, and bar the road to disaster, thus saving mankind.

Question: Comrade President, what contribution does the experience gained in the construction of the socialist society in Romania make to the international communist and workers movement?

Answer: This year Romania celebrates 40 years since the victorious revolution of social and national liberation which paved the road to the building of the new social system, of socialism. In this timespan, Romania travelled several historic stages. Exploiting classes and the oppression of man by man were eliminated for good, the socialist society was built, and we are now building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

In this period, the Romanian people, under the leadership of its communist party, scored remarkable achievements in its socioeconomic development, in raising its material and spiritual welfare. In this respect, I should like to mention that today Romania's industrial production is over 50 times larger than before the revolution of social and national liberation. The modern branches of the national industry developed strongly. Agriculture was completely reorganized on socialist bases, the production in this sector increasing by almost three times.

We have also scored important achievements in the development of science and culture and, on this basis, in raising the material and spiritual standards of our people. Anybody visiting Romania may notice the outstanding achievements the Romanian people scored in the years of socialist construction.

Given the current international situation, the Romanian people concentrates its efforts on the unflinching implementation of the resolutions of the twelfth congress and of the national conference regarding the country's socioeconomic development and its passage to a new development stage, that of a medium-developed socialist country with a modern industry and agriculture.

Romania's experience and achievements strongly prove the superiority and might of the socialist system which provides peoples a fast liquidation of backwardness, socioeconomic progress and advance in all domains.

I would like to stress in this respect that the RCP's activity has always been underlain by the basic principles of scientific socialism, by the revolutionary dialectical and historical materialism, and by applying general laws to Romania's specific conditions.

At the same time, the Romanian Communist Party and Socialist Romania have broadly developed relations with socialist countries, with communist and worker parties, with all forces, national and progressive liberation movements, considering that the consolidation of international solidarity and collaboration is an important factor in successfully building socialism in each country, in the fight against imperialist and neocolonialist policies, against war, and for a policy of peace and progress in each nation.

We have always considered that everything possible should be done so that the principles of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, complete renunciation of the use and threat of force should be applied in the relations among all states, whatever their social system. We should take firm action to guarantee the observance of each people's right to free and independent socioeconomic development.

Question: Comrade President, we would be grateful if you would convey -- through our press agency -- a message to the friendly Angolan people.

Answer: I would like to extend to the friendly Angolan people best wishes for success in their socioeconomic development, in strengthening their independence and sovereignty, in building the new social system, and in improving, on this basis, their material and cultural well-being.

ELENA CEAUSESCU REPORTS ON PRODUCT QUALITY

AU232047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2004 GMT 23 Mar 84

["Proceedings of the GNA Session -- Report Read by Elena Ceausescu, Romanian First Deputy Prime Minister, Chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/3/1984 -- The provisions under the programme of raising the technical level and the quality of products, reducing raw materials, fuel and energy consumption and highly capitalizing raw and subsidiary materials over 1983-1985 and until 1990, the report read by Elena Ceausescu shows, are closely linked to the programmes set by the RCP concerning the complex, high capitalization of all resources of raw and subsidiary materials and energy, the reduction of production costs and of material expenditure in particular, providing for a general growth of economic efficiency. Pointing out that the rise in the quality and technical level of production is a basic factor of socioeconomic development, the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism, the report highlights the role of scientific research in fulfilling that target, the contribution it must make to working out new technologies and updating the existing ones, expanding mechanization and automation, improving the standardization of products, more markedly increasing labour productivity and efficiency in all sectors of the national economy in conditions in which Romania has limited reserves of raw materials and energy.

After mentioning that the programme had been extensively debated in the general meetings of the working people in enterprises and institutes, in industrial centrals, in ministries and counties, the speaker said: In substantiating the programme's provisions, account was taken of the modern technical base Romania boasts, as well as of the experience and professional competence of the workers, technicians, and experts in all fields of material production. Productive fixed assets have been continuously developed and updated in Romania, about 80 percent of them having been commissioned in the last ten years; the share of skilled workers stands at 90 percent or so; a substantial number of researchers, designers and other experts carry on their activity in research institutes and technological design sectors and they cooperate with cadres in education and production. The contribution of scientific research to the promotion of advanced technology materialized in the assimilation, over the last ten years, of more than 20 thousand new machinery, equipment, installations and devices and the application of about eight thousand new technologies. In each of the last few five-year plan periods industrial production was renewed in a proportion of 40-45 percent.

Highlighting that the powerful technical and scientific potential created in the years of socialist construction provides every condition for the Romanian industry to pass on to a new, higher stage as concerns the quality of products. The complete capitalization of material and energy resources and Romania's more active and efficient participation in international economic exchanges and cooperation in production with other socialist countries, with all the states of the world, the report shows that the programme submitted to the Grand National Assembly for approval is to be implemented in three stages, its cardinal target being the substantial rise in the technical level and the quality of the whole production by intensifying redesigning and updating operations, improving the structure by types, assimilating new products of superior parameters in all fields, more particularly in metallurgy, machine building, electrical engineering electronics, chemistry, and the consumer goods industry.

Through the modernization of fabrication processes and the assimilation of new high-tech products, the share of products fitting highest world standards will grow year by year so as in 1985 they should stand at 69 percent and in 1990 at 90 percent, the report points out, showing that a highly important objective set in the programme is the achievement of competitive exportables, highly efficient in point of currency. Through the measures envisaged for the development of advanced processing sub-branches, for the improvement of production's structure by types and the achievement of high-quality products with high technological-functional characteristics, the raw materials capitalization degree will substantially increase, Elena Ceausescu said.

Referring to other measures set in the programme, the speaker showed that, according to its provisions, the share of production turned out through mechanization and automation would stand at 65 percent in 1985 and at more than 90 percent in 1990, while the raw materials capitalization degree would rise by 30 percent or so in 1985 and by about 65 percent in 1990 as to 1980.

Next, the report shows that over the period elapsed since the adoption of the programme by the November 1983 plenum of the CC of the RCP, a series of technical-organizational measures have been taken for the appropriate fulfillment of its provisions, casting light on the concerns of enterprises, institutes, centrals and ministries for the obtainment of ever better results in all fields of activity.

At the same time, attention is called to the shortfalls manifest in this domain, with emphasis on the demand to eliminate them through energetic measures for good preparation of the fabrication of products, the assimilation of products with highly functional parameters, the improvement of technologies and fabrication networks, the promotion and faster generalization of the latest achievements of science and technology.

All economic units, research and design institutes are in duty bound to establish specific programmes for the integral fulfillment of the provisions regarding the rise in the technological and qualitative standards of products, the better capitalization of raw and subsidiary materials, the speaker said adding that those programmes should be updated every year in accordance with the latest achievements of scientific research and with the trends of technical progress on a world plane.

The speaker requested that concerns should intensify for the professional training and improvement of workers, foremen and engineers, for the bettering of curricula of higher, secondary and vocational learning units according to the demands of the contemporary revolution in science and technology.

The implementation of the programme calls for the strengthening of order and discipline at all production levels, the establishment of a climate of collective and individual high responsibility for the manufacture of high-quality products which should meet the demands of the home and foreign market from all points of view, Elena Ceausescu said in conclusion.

OPREA ON DANUBE-BLACK SEA CANAL COMMISSIONING

AU241717 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1539 GMT 24 Mar 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 24/3/1984 -- The rationale First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea read before the parliament, as empowered by the government, stresses that this monumental engineering work -- telling expression of Romanian genius and creativity -- is the outcome of the high development stage reached by the Romanian industry, by the national economy as a whole.

The speaker specified that almost all the Romanian research and design institutes as well as hundreds of front-rank industrial units contributed to designing the canal and its facilities, to manufacturing and mounting highly technical and complex installations. It has been built through the country's own efforts, with the exclusive contribution of the Romanian scientific and technical creation. The canal is another telling proof of the large resources and possibilities of our socialist system, of the Romanian people's vocation for peaceful construction and international cooperation in the service of mankind's progress, civilization, peace, and welfare.

The Danube-Black Sea Canal has a high economic and social importance for Romania. Conceived as a new waterway between the Danube and the Black Sea, the canal is part of a large system. It helps proper harnessing of inland rivers in that part of the country, provides for the expansion of irrigation and, consequently, for the implementation of the programme for the development of agriculture on modern principles, and facilitates the supply with drinking and industrial water of the riparian localities. At the same time, the canal is a tourist attraction as it highly capitalizes the Romanian littoral and the whole region it crosses.

The canal proper is part of a complex navigation system which includes, besides the waterway, highly important facilities like the new Constanta-Sud Sea Port apt to provide mooring and operations for sea-going ships of up to 150,000 dwt thus becoming one of Europe's large harbours. The new ports at Medgidia and Cernayoda are under construction.

The utilisation of the new waterway for freight and passenger traffic has important economic effects as regards the implementation of the RCP and Romanian state policy of properly administering fuel and energy.

Some 75 million [metric] tons of goods meant for the combines and works built in the Danube area can be annually transported on the canal. The transportation of a large volume of imported raw materials and finished products or of exportables as well as the expenses it implies are thus reduced, a direct and more economical link being also provided for the main end-users in the country. Added to these economies are those made through the cut of the transportation distance between Constanta and Cernavoda by 400 km or so.

The Danube-Black Sea Canal is Romania's inland water created exclusively through the Romanian people's material and human efforts.

Likewise, in the spirit of peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation with all peoples and states, spirit which governs the RCP and Romanian state policy, the new waterway is also accessible to all the ships under foreign pavilion, in conformity with the Romanian legislation, the document specifies.

For the reasons mentioned above, the commissioning of the Danube-Black Sea Canal requires legal and navigation regulations. The bill submitted to the parliament stipulates that the canal which links the Cernavoda river port and the Constanta-Sud Sea Port is a national waterway of the Socialist Republic of Romania under the exclusive sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Romanian state.

The canal shall be open to freight and passenger ships of all states on the terms set by the legislation of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The bill envisages that the Romanian and foreign ships passing through the canal shall observe the rules referring to navigation, river supervision, sanitation, custom duties, the use of harbour installations and basins, prevention and control of pollution as well as the other rules regarding the exploitation and maintenance of the canal stipulated by the Romanian legislation.

Taxes shall be collected for the passage of ships through the canal and for services to them, which are to be set under a decree of the State Council of Romania.

Furthermore, the bill provides for the possibility to hire, in the southern zone of the Constanta-Sud Sea Port, foreign individuals or juristic persons, berths, platforms, warehouses, equipment and installations in accordance with the laws of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The canal shall be administered and exploited by state units of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

ROMANIAN OFFICIAL ON 'DIALOGUE WITH PEOPLE'

AU101158 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 28 Mar 84 p 23

[Article by Elena Nae, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and first secretary of the RCP Committee of the Sixth District of Bucharest: "The RCP -- Dialogue with the Working People"]

[Text] Seeking to increase the importance of political, social, economic, and production relations, we pay central attention to the working people's participation in formulating and implementing the specific programs dealing with the affairs of Bucharest and the country.

The practice of holding consultations on various initiatives is now a standing practice. During such consultations we carefully note all observations and useful information to obtain as many data as possible for formulating tasks, to ensure that our goals and resources are compatible, and to facilitate the implementation of tasks.

In that way we have noticed that the implementation of some decisions, which result from party and state resolutions and which are of national significance (for example, the correct use of energy and fuels), is far more effective and easier. The solutions suggested by us are extensively backed by arguments and convince the people of the desirability of the proposed measures.

What is more, our knowledge of the people's experience and views makes it easier for us to understand other issues and helps our partners in dialogue to evaluate our political, occupational, and social skills, which accelerates integration of the general process of work.

Such a dialogue is primarily a result of our daily presence in organizations and workers teams. I wish to note that we are now developing that style of work in order to create the best possible conditions for implementing the resolutions adopted by the RCP plenum held in June 1983 to deal with the principles of workers' self-management bodies, with self-financing, with improving the economic-fiscal mechanism, and with the system of wages.

In order to win the support of the working people we have decided to improve their political and occupational training. The comprehensive programs concerning all categories of employees have been formulated in that sense.

We devote much attention to training young people for work and life.

The intensive nature of our dialogue with the masses, the ever increasing interest of the working people in the effective performance of the enterprises in which they work and of the neighborhoods in which they live, as well as the increase in their political, social, and occupational responsibility are the reason for considerable progress in solving the problems of, say, the organization and quality of production and work, the thrifty management and use of raw and materials, and so on. We are seeking the ensure that party organizations everywhere represent relations that are based on revolutionary humanism and always continue to implement exemplary people-to-people relations in accordance with the principles of socialist equality and political and social responsibility.

It is true that large untapped opportunities in that regard still exist in some party organizations. The recent analyses made by the party committee of our district in Bucharest have cleary demonstrated that it is necessary to make more determined efforts in order to find the necessary solutions to new production problems and to more fully exploit the manpower and technical potentials of enterprises.

BRIEFS

POLISH CONSTRUCTION MINISTER VISITS -- Ioan Florea, Romanian minister of wood industry and construction materials, and Stanislaw Kukuryka, Polish minister of construction and building materials, signed on 29 March an agreement on expanding mutual exchanges of goods and deepening scientific-technological cooperation in building materials. [Summary] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Mar 84 p 5 [AU] Gheorghe Oprea, Romanian first deputy prime minister, received on 30 March Stanislaw Kukuryka, Polish minister of construction and building materials, who is visiting our country. On this occasion the sides discussed issues concerning bilateral cooperation in building materials. [Summary] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Mar 84 p 5 AU]

CEAUSESCU VISIT, COOPERATION PROSPECTS PREVIEWED

AU111857 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu, head of the Romanian state and party, will arrive tomorrow on a working and friendly visit to our country at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Here is a commentary by Dragan Petrovic on this visit:

The talks which Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, will hold with Nicolae Ceausescu -- talks which will come about at Ceausescu's request and outside regular meetings in Karadjordjevo tomorrow and the day after -- nonetheless belong in the stage of a continuous dialogue that provides a new impetus to promoting the friendly relations between the two neighboring countries. It is expected that on this occasion, too, the two sides will pay attention to the development of various kinds of cooperation, particularly to the promotion of the further development of economic relations. The Yugoslav economy's commodity exchange with Romania has been falling in recent years, but last year this fall was halted at the 1982 level. This stagnation, which has been caused by both external and internal economic difficulties of both partners, could be interpreted as a moment for catching a breath before running up a new increase. Precisely this problem was discussed at the level of the economic chambers and the joint committees, while Bojanic and Pungan, ministers of foreign trade of the two countries, have been discussing this problem since yesterday.

The past period of Yugoslav-Romanian economic cooperation has demonstrated to what extent the traditional commodity exchange is subject to oscillations as compared to the higher long-term forms of economic cooperation. There is room for such joint undertakings. However, what is needed is a strict realization of the existing undertakings. However, it is a good thing that the view has prevailed on both sides that long-term forms of cooperation are the correct road for promoting economic relations.

It is necessary to say that Yugoslav-Romanian cooperation is also successfully developing in other fields of life. In this connection, the constant concern for promoting the position and comprehensive development of the Serbian and Croatian nationalities in Romania, and of the Romanian nationality in Yugoslavia should represent an important factor for promoting the links between the two neighboring countries. The present situation in international relations will provide, it is certain, a broad framework for an exchange of views on the situation in Europe, on disarmament, the hotbeds of crisis in the world, the situation in the Balkans, and in the Mediterranean. At the end of last year and at the beginning of this year, our country has been exceptionally active in the foreign political field. We have had dialogues with Moscow and Washington, with African and Arab statesmen of the Middle East, and we have developed great activity toward all our neighbors.

Two rounds of the Balkan meetings, primarily on political topics, were held in Athens. This is only a part of the developments that have occurred since last November -- the previous meeting between Ceausescu and Spiljak in Bucharest.

SPILJAK RECEIVES CEAUSESCU ON WORKING VISIT

LD121020 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0920 GMT 12 Apr 84

[Text] Osijek, 12 Apr (TANJUG) -- Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, arrived in Yugoslavia today for a 2-day working visit at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency and LCY Central Committee Presidium. At Osijek Airport, Ceausescu was met and welcomed by Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency.

LCY, KKE OFFICIALS DISCUSS MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY

LD120643 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1708 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Athens, April 11 (TANJUG) -- Dobrivoje Vidic and Antonios Abatielos stressed here today, Wednesday, satisfaction with the development of cooperation to date between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and the Greek Communist Party [KKE] and set out that cooperation between the two parties contributes to the promotion of over-all Yugoslav-Greek relations. Vidic, LCY Presidency member and Abatialos, Greek Communist Party Politbureau member, stated the readiness of the two parties further to promote their cooperation in the interest of friendship between the peoples of the two neighbouring countries.

The LCY and the Greek Communist Party uphold all initiatives aimed at strengthening security and cooperation, particularly in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, it was noted during the talks. Vidic and Abatialos exchanged views also on the activities of the progressive parties and movements of Mediterranean countries and initiatives for turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and cooperation. In this context, the two party officials discussed preparations for the conference of progressive Mediterranean parties and movements to be held in Belgrade. The Greek Communist Party will participate in the conference.

PRESIDENCY DISCUSSES ANGOLAN, ALGERIAN TALKS

LD111816 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Belgrade 11 Apr (TANJUG) -- The SFRY Presidency held a session today that was chaired by President Mika Spiljak. President Spiljak informed the Presidency about the results of the recent official and friendly visit by Jorge Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola and of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] - Labor Party to our country. The Presidency assessed that this visit and the talks held represent a fresh incentive for the promotion of the traditionally good relations and all-round (?friendship and cooperation) between the countries in all the areas of joint interest, especially economics.

It was pointed out during the session that the Yugoslav-Angolan exchange of views had demonstrated that the two countries hold very close views on important problems of the present-day world. In the evaluation of the two presidents, it was stressed that the worsened international situation and interbloc confrontation has a direct and harmful effect on the situation in Africa, especially in the south of the continent: the process of decolonization of Namibia, and the politicoeconomic emancipation of the frontline states. Yugoslavia renders full support to Angola and other frontline states and their efforts to defend their independence and autonomous development. In this context, the importance of the loyalty of the two countries to the policy of nonalignment and its authentic principles (?was confirmed).

(?The results) of the visit to Algeria and the very meaningful talks that President Spiljak had with President Chadli Bendjedid and other senior officials of that country was also positively assessed during the session. During the visit, which continued the practice of top-level dialogue, the proximity of views of the two countries on basic international (?events) came to the fore, especially on the role and activity of the Nonaligned Movement in the present unfavorable international situation. (?Full) agreement was reached on the need for even closer cooperation between the two countries within the Nonaligned Movement and on the international plane further afield.

During the session (?the talks noted) the very successful development of all-round relations between Yugoslavia and Algeria. Both sides stressed their (?support) for their further development and expansion, especially in the economic field where specific agreements were agreed upon. The Presidency concluded that the solution of some outstanding questions pertaining to economic cooperation should be tackled as soon as possible in order to promote Yugoslav-Algerian relations still further.

The session also discussed some other questions pertaining to the domain of the SFRY Presidency.

ECONOMIC DRAFT REGULATIONS SUBMITTED TO ASSEMBLY

LD111543 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1302 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Belgrade, April 11 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Government today, Wednesday, submitted to the Federal Assembly two draft regulations as part of the announced package of anti-inflationary measures under the country's economic stabilization programme.

The first draft proposes amendments to the law of the integral Yugoslav market reducing the number of intermediaries in trade and, in this way, speeding up the turnover of goods and money. Under the existing law, an unlimited number of intermediaries -- wholesale firms -- may appear in goods turnover, thus enormously raising the cost of operation and, consequently, the prices of goods. If the government initiative is accepted, the number of intermediaries would be limited to two. Violations of this law would be punishable with fines ranging from 100 thousand to one million dinars (800-8000 U.S. dollars) for enterprises and from 10 to 50 thousand dinars (80-400 U.S. dollars) for the executives responsible.

The second draft regulation concerns the urgent conclusion of a social compact to reduce the amount of the economy's financial obligations towards the state and other budgets. The document which, in the Yugoslav self-management legislature, is on the same level as a law, would have the Federal Assembly and the assemblies of the republics and provinces as its signatories. If an accord on this matter is reached, the economy would be allocating, starting before the end of next September, 70 billion dinars (56 million U.S. dollars), less than now in taxes and other financial obligations to the self-management communities of interest. This is a 10-per-cent reduction from its present total financial obligations.

Besides cutting down on the taxes and other financial obligations, necessary restrictions would also take place in public and collective expenditures, which have now reached exorbitant proportions at the expense of the available national income. The government considers that these moves would significantly help the economy to catch up more easily with, and keep abreast of, the production and export needs of the country.

RIBICIC CRITICIZES CLOSED LEADERSHIP, PATERNALISM

AU112031 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7/8 Apr 84 p 5

[Speech by Mitja Ribicic, member of LCY Central Committee Presidium, at "scientific meeting on SAWPY constitutional position": "Paternalism, Partnership"; date and place not given]

[Text] It appears that a rather strong stratum of Communists has been formed in the League of Communists, Communist managers who are more on the course of financial, economic, and day-to-day accounts than on the course of socioeconomic and political relations.

They are more interested in account and balance sheets than in people and the conditions of work and life. Because of its linkage with the technobureaucratic structure in the economy and society, and also very likely because of its privileged social position, this stratum cannot and objectively will not be at the head of those progressive workers masses, which demand their full participation in the field of expanded and social reproduction.

A closed, forum-like work of leaderships suits such Communists; it suits them that they are on the course of the investment and day-to-day pragmatic economic policy, the policy of the executive organs of the communes, republics, and the federation. These leaderships of the League of Communists communicate with the people and the workers class through brief and meager announcements on their numerous closed sessions, while the SAWP serves them as a facade for a democratization of the party solutions and decisions. This paternalism of the League of Communists over the other social force results in the demands for partnership with other sociopolitical organizations, something for which there would otherwise be no real social need.

If our socialist front is not established and activated -- a front of forces of progressive and socialist-oriented people in the direction of the further democratization and humanization of social relations, in the direction of a sound development of the political system of socialist self-management -- then other conservative forces penetrate the vacuum, a platform of antisocialist, antiself-managing currents is established with pressures for a multiparty system, national hegemonism, and separatism. The defenders of social or group-property relations and technocratic liberalism then make themselves heard. The conservative bloc of united rightist and leftist radical forces has intensified its activity today.

We cannot effectively struggle against this attack solely through administrative means and measures of the state and by themes and prohibitions set forth by the party leaderships. It is necessary to activate Kardelj's sections of the Socialist Alliance and the social councils in the delegate system with which it is possible to more effectively overcome differences, depoliticize problems, and prevent the tendencies of political pluralism. If it is necessary to say this -- no, if it is necessary to say this frequently and very firmly -- then in our society the working people themselves should say this. They know this, but they must be linked so that organized on a socialist self-managing platform they can be sufficiently strong to make themselves heard in the established centers of technobureaucratic power or in quasidemocratic groups of the proponents of bourgeois consciousness.

SKOPJE LC DISCUSSES NATIONALITIES PROBLEMS

LD111525 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1109 GMT 11 Apr 84

[Text] Skopje, 11 Apr (TANJUG) -- The battle to implement brotherhood, unity, equality, and togetherness has been and remains a lasting orientation which demands constant involvement of the League of Communists and other socialist forces. This is one of the basic stands expressed at the session of the city committee of the League of Communists of Skopje whose members discussed a report on ideopolitical activity and tasks of the League of Communists city organization to consolidate and enhance brotherhood, unity, and equality between the Macedonian people and the nationalities living in Skopje.

Several examples were mentioned which obviously show that a high level of equality and togetherness between the Macedonian people and the nationalities living in Skopje has been attained.

(?It was confirmed) that, in the future, even and equal development of every nation and nationality in all spheres of life will be a lasting task of the League of Communists. In this context, a number of specific tasks facing the League of Communists were pointed out.

A vigorous struggle has been waged in Skopje against manifestations and activity of Albanian nationalism and irredentism which for quite some time willfully expressed its enemy substance which came to the forefront especially in the wake of counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo. Broadly-based sociopolitical action, condemnation of this action by our working people and citizens, and vigorous unmasking of the totally reactionary essence of nationalistic ideology has greatly narrowed the scope of activity from enemy positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and from those of any other nationalism.

The basis for further activity of the League of Communists in this area is to constantly stress and to further develop awareness that we are bound together by fate and, on this basis, the need to develop healthy and all-round relations among people belonging to different nations and nationalities. Developed socialist self-management relations are the strongest obstacle to ideologically unacceptable manifestations and tendencies. This has also been confirmed in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism and against other nationalisms. Therefore, further development of socialist self-management relations will increasingly narrow the scope for the existence of nationalistic manifestations and tendencies.

HASANI ON PROBLEMS IN KOSOVO SELF-MANAGEMENT

AU111420 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7/8 Apr 84 p 11

[Interview given by Sinan Hasani, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo, to Vojislava Vignjevic and Radmila Dubljevic, place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Hasani: I have the impression that polemics about some of our difficulties are necessary and that one should really find somewhat happier solutions for overcoming them more quickly. However, considering the nature of Yugoslav socialism, it must be said that this is a specific road which is essentially marked by self-management.

I think one can speak about intensified contradictions that are foreseen by Marxism as a science. The transitional period develops chiefly through contradictions, and even through grave conflicts, which sometimes become dramatic, which are rather rough, and which are not at all simple. I think that this should be understood, instead of us constantly trying to find a culprit who has brought us to such a situation.

Vignjevic and Dubljevic: At the session before last of the LCY Central Committee some comrades spoke very controversially, but there were no confrontations. There followed the conclusions which were adopted. How are the conclusions to be implemented in a situation when there is no dialogue about the disputed problems?

Hasani: One certainly has the right to say what one thinks. However, if there are two or three people who views differ, I do not think that one should then sit down and say: You said this, and you said that; let us now overcome this problem. I think that it is overcome by the very fact that the problem has been broached. A discussion is held, opinions are voiced, an organ, a group, or a commission is elected which takes the proposals into consideration...and then, when you sit down, when you adopt the proposed conclusions, the problem has been overcome, and you cannot draw the conclusion that there is no unity in the leadership.

Vignjevic and Dubljevic: At some difficult moments, when social currents would turn outside the basic direction of the revolution, Tito knew how to cut off what was negative. Who is now to do that: the Central Committee, the Prosidium of the party, or the Presidency of the state?

Hasani: It is clear to everybody that Tito is no more, and Kardelj, Bakaric, Vlahovic are no more either. However, we have no other solution but to get over this. In Tito's time, when one talked about the role of the Central Committee, his personality nevertheless represented a big power, both to say something and to cut off things. In this respect, we can now only lament, searching for something that will never return. I think that it is difficult to search for this, and that we must look for a solution in the existing machinery. It is up to the efficiency of these organs to play such a role. We must struggle for this. Anything else is impossible.

There is another thing here (I do not know whether I am right), but a wish seems to be felt to change as much as possible, to look for some new solutions. Nevertheless, there are some crucial moments in these social relations. Self-management is not introduced every day, nor is a new constitution or an LC program adopted every day. These are acts that have long-term significance and which are born at certain times. They must be not only ideologically formulated but also materialized in practice.

However, much of what we have assumed as our goal is proceeding slowly. For instance, the implementation of some tasks -- the things that we discussed in the economy -- have been urged four, five, six times... This means that we nevertheless comprehend some things wrongly. Then, if you want to destroy some Yugoslav centralism and unitarianism, and you have national unitarianisms and isolation by republics and provinces appearing, then you have the whole evil there, and one falls into a net of contradictions.

Vignjevic and Dubljevic: If, for instance, some leader says that he does not agree with a theater performance, is this really a Stalinist method of settling accounts, as the right asserts?

Hasani: I think that in a short time there were two ways of approaching situations by the comrades in Belgrade. They did not agree with the method of banning some performances in Novi Sad, but now, as far as I can see, they have spoken against nationalistic performances in their midst. What is Stalinist and Zdanovite here? I would say that bureaucracy has raised its head and is spreading evil among creativity.

The essence of the changes in all this is that one must have an active attitude toward creativity, or rather one must be capable of assessing what in fact is real art and what is being smuggled inunder art. A humane attitude and good will are very important in this respect.

Regarding the freedom of creativity, it is indeed a relative question. Marx says that freedom is an expression of the production process, and then he says: Freedom is a perceived necessity. Well, even this perceived necessity must be changed. If not, we could, for instance, have been satisfied with administrative socialism. We could have said: We have carried out the revolution, we have changed the property relations, and now we will build socialism on this basis, and this freedom. Nevertheless, I think that one should distinguish a bureaucratic reaction to the question of the freedom of creation on the one hand, and on the other recognize that even a hostile act can be offered under the cloak of freedom.

Vignjevic and Dubljevic: During you interview you often mentioned the fact that we are excessively burdened by the past. How much does it burden the Kosovo intelligentsia now?

Hasani: I think that everything that was distorted in culture, science, and propaganda had a great influence on Kosovo events. In other words, the Kosovo problems became manifested under the influence of both internal and external factors. I am now speaking about Kosovo, but the same thing is not right in Yugoslavia, either, and in Kosovo it is particularly not right. That is why we are excessively dwelling on history.

We have an uncountable number of PhD's in history, but we don't have those that we need in production. When one sits down and looks at what doctoral theses were submitted in the field of history, one is simply ashamed. It has been established a hundred times that there was Serbian hegemony, or that the bourgeoisie of the old Yugoslavia and the king were bad, and that they were anti-Albanian. All right, but why must you demonstrate it a hundred times? Unless it is your intention to generate hatred and to change from class reasoning to a nationalist one.

Then the foreign factor was also present here. It was Albania and that dogmatic Stalinism that theoretically justified the need to say as much as possible to the effect that nothing much revolutionary has happened in Yugoslavia, that only people have changed, that Tito is what the king used to be, and Rankovic what Pasic [premier of Serbia and of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes after World War I] used to be.

Vignjevic and Dubljevic: What do you think -- is the slogan "Kosovo Republic" only an irredentist slogan, which is to say, has it been cleared up in the consciousness of an average Albanian?

Hasani: The irredentists knew that the slogan "Kosovo Republic" is very attractive. They depended on people saying, "Well, then, what is wrong about it, what harm can a republic do?" Or "does one gain something in this way? One does. So let's go." The naive and the uniformed people followed this, but those others knew that it means to undermine the constitutional order.

The irredentists tried with all their might to present themselves as patriots. I think that we have succeeded much in showing that they are not patriots but traitors and that it is a matter of betraying the Albanian people. I must say, however, that matters have been simplified to some extent and that there has been malevolent writing in the information media, in the republican centers, and in Belgrade, according to which it appeared that all would be well in Kosovo if the Serbs and the Montenegrins lived as they should.

YOUTH MAGAZINES' ALTERNATIVE JOURNALISM ATTACKED

AU051801 [Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 29 March and Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 31 March/1 April carry reports on complaints about youth papers.

POLITIKA on page 6 carries a 600-word report by S. Ostojic on a session of the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Croatia in Zagreb "the day before yesterday," which discussed the magazine IDEJE published by the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation, and decided to stop the sale of the issue No 5-6/83 in Croatia. This issue carried an interview given by Mica Popovic to Mile Gligorijevic, which was denounced in POLET, organ of the Socialist Youth Federation of Croatia, on 21 March, for containing "a heap of insults to the fallen and the surviving veterans of the national liberation war and revolution without any reservation or commentary." The Croatian Youth Presidium decided to request a court ban on the offending issue.

BORBA on page 8 carries a 400-word report by Andrej Dvorsak on the Ljubljana student magazine TRIBUNA which "recently" appeared with a front page "obituary notice for Yugoslavia, because we succumbed to the pressures of the IMF," and on its back page carried "a note of thanks to all who laid Yugoslavia to rest. This alone is sufficient for us to pose the question where is the patriotic consciousness of the creators of these 'obituary notices' and 'notices of thanks,' and where is their national pride."

Dvorsak asks: "What in fact is 'alternative journalism?' It can be described as 'journalism of the elite,' for it concerns a small circle, a little group that proclaimed itself 'the only true heralds of the people.' They point their fingers at the authorities, whom they blame for getting alienated from the people, but they do not see that they themselves have become alienated and to what extend they have done so." "It is very difficult here to draw the line between what deserves a dialogue or polemics and what calls for administrative measures, Here the question arises: Do not some of these people expect that administrative measures will be taken?" Dvorsak says.